ESSAYS ON ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY.

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BY

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PREFACE.

THE memoirs reprinted in the present volume are of various dates, ranging over a period of thirty years. Hence in the original text of some of the earlier memoirs, statements and references occur here and there which, viewed in the light of later archæology, may be considered obsolete or imperfect. These parts of the text I have modified or completed so far as could be done, without recasting the memoir in which they occur or introducing too manifest anachronisms.

C. T. NEWTON.

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ESSAYS ON ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY.

I.

ON THE STUDY OF ARCHÆOLOGY.

A DISCOURSE READ AT THE OXFORD MEETING OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, JUNE 18, 1850.*

The record of the Human Past is not all contained in printed books. Man's history has been graven on the rock of Egypt, stamped on the brick of Assyria, enshrined in the marble of the Parthenon—it rises before us a majestic Presence in the piled-up arches of the Coliseum —it lurks an unsuspected treasure amid the oblivious dust of archives and monasteries—it is embodied in all the heirlooms of religions, of races, of families; in the relics which affection and gratitude, personal or national, pride of country or pride of lineage, have preserved for us—it lingers like an echo on the lips of the peasantry, surviving in their songs and traditions, renewed in their rude customs with the renewal of Nature's seasons—we trace it in the speech, the manners, the type of living nations, its associations invest them

* "Archæological Journal," vol. viii. p. 1.

as with a garb—we dig it out from the barrow and the Nekropolis, and out of the fragments thus found reconstruct in museums of antiquities something like an image of the Past—we contemplate this image in fairer proportions, in more exact lineaments, as it has been transmitted by endless reflections in the broken mirror of art.

Again, the vouchers for Printed History, the title-deeds of our great heritage of Printed Literature, are not all preserved in printed texts.

Before there can be Composed History, there must be evidences and documents, Tradition Oral and Tradition Monumental; before the publication of Printed Literature, there must exist the elements and sources from which such publication is made; before the Printer must come the Palæographer; before authoritative edition, scrutiny and authentication. Before we can discern the image of a period, or read the history of a race in Monuments of Art, we must ascertain to what period and to what race these monuments belong; before antiquities become the materials for the history of manners, they must be collected and arranged in museums; in other words, if we would authenticate Printed Literature, if we would verify and amplify Printed History, if we would not ignore all those new elements of thought and memorials of the deeds of men which time is for ever disclosing to us, we must recognise the purpose and function of Archæology; that purpose and function being to collect, to classify, and to interpret all the evidence of man's history not already incorporated in Printed Literature.

This evidence, the subject-matter of Archæology, has

been handed down to us, partly in spoken language, in manners, and in customs, partly in written documents and manuscript literature, partly in remains of architecture, painting, and sculpture, and of the subordinate decorative and useful arts.

Or, to speak more concisely, the subject-matter of Archæology is threefold—the Oral, the Written, and the Monumental.

Perhaps it would be more exact to say, that there are but two classes of archæological evidences, the Oral and the Monumental, Monuments being either inscribed or Monuments of art and of handicraft.

But I shall venture, on this occasion, to waive strict logical accuracy for the sake of an arrangement which seems more convenient and impressive.

I shall consider each of the three classes of Archæological evidence in succession, taking first, the Oral, under which head I would include not only all that has been handed down to us in Language, but all that can be gathered from the study of Manners and Customs.

That spoken language is Archæological evidence is sufficiently obvious. Everyone is aware that in tracing out the history of any language, we must study not only its written form, but those archaic words, inflections, and idioms, which literature has either rejected or forgotten, which, once general, have become provincial, and are retained only in the mother-tongue of the peasantry.

These obsolete and rare forms of speech are to the philologist what the extinct Faunas and Floras of the primæval world are to the comparative anatomist and

the botanist, and, as Geology collects and prepares for the physiologist these scattered elements of the history of nature, so does Archæology glean these vestiges of language, and construct out of them glossaries of provincial words, that they may form evidence in the great scheme of modern Philology.

As only a certain portion of the spoken language of a race is permanently incorporated in its literature, so its written poetry and history only represent a certain portion of the national tradition. Every peasantry has its songs and mythic legends, its rude oral narrative of real events, blended with its superstitions. Archæology rescues these from oblivion, by making them a part of Printed Literature. It is thus that Walter Scott has collected the minstrelsy of the Scottish border, and Grimm the traditions of Germany.

Such relics are of peculiar interest to the historian of literature, because they contain the germ of Written History and Poetry; before the epic comes the ballad, the first chronicle is the sum of many legends.

But unwritten tradition is not all embodied in language, it has been partly preserved to us in manners and customs. In a rude, unlettered age, indeed at all times when men are too ignorant, hurried, or pre-occupied to be acted upon by language alone, the instinct of those who govern the multitude has suggested other means.

Symbolic acts and gestures, tokens, forms, ceremonies, customs are all either supplementary to or the substitute for articulate speech.

In the processions, military triumphs, coronations, nuptials, and funeral ceremonies of all races we see this

unwritten, inarticulate, symbolic language in its most fully developed and eloquent form.

Hence it is obviously necessary for the Archæologist to study customs. Addressing the eye by symbols, more generally and readily understood even than words, they may be said to exhibit the utterance of thought in its most primitive and elementary form; the repetition of such utterance becomes record, which, however rude and precarious, may still rank as a distinct source of historical evidence.

For the observance of such customs as fall under the notice of the Archæologist, it is for the most part necessary that certain acts should be performed, or certain instruments employed, with or without the recital of a set form of words; the custom may be either commemorative or symbolic without reference to the past; the event of which it is the memorial may be real or mythical; the doctrine it typifies and embodies may be religious, political, or legal; its observance may be occasional, as in the case of a marriage ceremony, or periodical, as in the case of the great festivals with which most nations distinguish the course of the seasons. The Archæologist, of course, directs his attention less to those customs which form a part of the established religion and legal code of a race than to those which, being the result of ideas once generally prevalent, still survive among the peasantry in remote districts, or of which dim traces may be still discerned in the institutions of modern society. It is thus that, in the customs of Calabria, we still trace the relics of the ancient heathen worship, and that the customs of Greece and Asia Minor remain a living commentary on the text of Homer.

The peasant's mind reflects what has been rather than what is. It revolves in the same circle as the more cultivated mind of the nation, but at a much slower rate. On the great dial-plate of time, one is the hour-hand while the other is the minute-hand.

When customs are only partially extant, the Archæologist has not only to record and interpret the usage, but to preserve the instrument with which that usage was associated.

It is thus that the horns which once ratified the tenure of land, the sword or mace, once instruments of investiture and insignia of feudal or official power, vessels once consecrated to the service of religion, are gathered in, one by one, into national museums, the garners and treasuries of Archæology.

A custom may be not merely extinct, but buried. In the tombs of many races, such as the Celtic or Scandinavian, we find nearly all that is known of their sepulchral rites, and thus an examination of the places of sepulture of various countries enables us, with the aid of philology, to trace out many unsuspected national affinities, while at the same time it gives us the means of comparing a number of unwritten creeds. In an uncivilised age men do not define their religious belief in a set form of words, but express it by symbolic rites, by acts rather than by statements.

It is the business of the Archæologist to read these hieroglyphics, not graven on the rock, but handed down in the memory and embodied in the solemn acts of races, to elicit these faint rays of historical evidence, latent in the tomb.

Manners differ from customs, in that they furnish

rather general evidence of a nation's character than special evidence for particular facts; in that they are neither commemorative nor symbolic.

It was the custom of the last century to drink the king's health after dinner; it is part of the general history of English manners to know how our ancestors comported themselves at their meals, and when they first began to use forks.

Traces of ancient manners must be sought, as we seek for customs, in the secluded life of the peasantry, or we must discern them half-obliterated beneath the palimpsest surface of modern society, and this palimpsest must be read by a diligent collation not only with early literature, but with the picture of ancient manners preserved in Monuments of Art.

Such then is a slight outline of the Oral evidence of Archæology. It is inferior in dignity either to Written or to Monumental evidence, because of all the means which man possesses for utterance and record, the oral is the most transient.

We may add that animals are not altogether destitute of oral utterance. Though they do not articulate, they communicate their meaning vocally, and by gesticulation; and some of them can imitate articulate speech, action, and music.

But no animal but man draws or writes, or leaves behind him conscious monumental record.

It is because man can draw, because he possesses the distinctive faculty of imitating forms and expressing thoughts not only by his own gesticulations, but by and through some material external to himself, that he has acquired the inestimable power of writing. This general

assertion, that all writing has its origin in drawing, is, perhaps, open to discussion; but those who have most deeply investigated the question have been led to this conclusion, by a comparison of the most primitive systems of writing now extant.

It is stated by these authorities that the elements of all written character are to be found in the Picture, or Direct Representation of some visible object; that such Pictures were subsequently applied as Phonetic symbols, or symbols of sounds, and as Emblems, or symbols of ideas; that these three modes of conveying meaning, by Direct Representation, by Phonetic symbols, and by Emblems, existed co-ordinately for a while, and were finally absorbed into, and commuted for the one fixed conventional Alphabetic method.

If we apply this theory to the classification of the systems of writing which remain to us, it will be seen that, though not of course admitting of arrangement in chronological sequence, they exhibit the art in various stages of its development. The Mexican will present to us a system in which the Pictorial is predominant; the Egyptian hieroglyphics will enable us to trace the gradual extension of the Phonetic and Emblematic, the abbreviation of both forms in the more cursive Hieratic, and the decay of the Pictorial system; the Chinese, and perhaps the Assyrian Cuneiform, will bring us one step nearer the purely conventional system: and the perfection of the Alphabetic method will be found in the Semitic or Phœnician character, as it has been adapted by the Hellenic race.

I will not attempt here to illustrate more fully, or to justify more in detail, this theory as to the origin of

writing; nor do I ask you, on the present occasion, to admit more than the general fact, which the most superficial examination of the Egyptian or Mexican hieroglyphics will show, that there have been ages and nations when the Alphabetic system was as yet undeveloped, and the Pictorial was its substitute, and consequently that there was a period when art and writing were not divorced as they are at present, but so blended into one that we can best express the union by such a compound as Picture-writing.

This original connection between two arts which we are accustomed to consider as opposed, obliges us to regard the elements of writing as part of the history of imitative art generally. Thus the inscribed monuments of Egypt are neither art nor literature, but rather the elements out of which both sprang, just as early poetry contains the germ both of history and philosophy.

It is this first stage in the history of writing which peculiarly claims from the Archæologist thought and study. The art of which he has to trace the progress, as it has, perhaps, more contributed to civilisation than any other human invention, so has it only been perfected after many centuries of experiment and fruitless labour. We, to whom the Alphabetic system has been handed down as the bequest of a remote antiquity, find a difficulty in transporting our minds backwards to the period when it was yet unknown; the extreme simplicity of the method makes us accept it as a matter of course, as an instrument which man has always possessed, not as something only wrought out by patient, oft-repeated trials in the course of ages. Till we study the Egyptian hieroglyphics we are not aware how difficult it must

have been for the more perfect Phonetic system to displace the Pictorial, how long they continued co-ordinate, what perplexity of rules this co-ordination engendered, how obstinately the routine of habit maintained an old method however intricate and inconvenient, against a new principle however simple and broad in its application. The history of writing, in a word, exhibits to us most impressively a type of that great struggle between new inventions and inveterate routine, out of which civilisation has been slowly and painfully evolved.

When we pass from the study of imperfect and transition systems of writing, such as the Mexican, Egyptian, Cuneiform, and Chinese, to the study of perfect alphabets, it is rather the tradition of the art from race to race, than the inventive genius shown in its development, which forms the subject of our inquiries.

The Phœnician alphabet is the primary source of the system of writing we now use. The Greek and Roman alphabets, each adapted from the Phœnician with certain additions and modifications, were gradually diffused by commerce or conquest through the length and breadth of the ancient civilised world. On the decay of the Western empire of the Romans, their alphabet, like their language, law, architecture, and sculpture, became the property of their Teutonic conquerors.

Rude hands now wielded these great instruments of civilisation; strong wills moulded and adapted them to new wants and conditions; and it was thus that the Roman alphabet, transferred from marble to parchment, no longer graven but written, was gradually transformed into that fantastic and complicated character which is popularly called black letter, and in which the original

simple type is sometimes as difficult to recognise as it is to discern at the first glance the connection between the stately clustered pier and richly sculptured capital of the Gothic cathedral and its remote archetype, the Greek column.

The changes which the handwriting of the Western world underwent from the commencement of the Middle Ages to the revival of the simple Roman character in the first printed texts have been most clearly traced out, century by century, by means of the vast series of dated specimens of mediæval writing still extant.

When we turn from the Palæography of the Western to that of the Eastern world, we find the evidence of the subject in a far less accessible state.

In tracing back the history of Oriental systems of writing, as in investigating the sources of Oriental civilisation, we cannot, as in the West, recognise in many varieties the same original classical type ; there is no one paramount influence, no one continuous stream of tradition, no one alphabet the parent of all the rest ; the chronological basis of the Palæography rests on much less certain grounds.

When this branch of the history of writing has been more studied, we shall be able to say more positively whether the Assyrian Cuneiform is a modification of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, whether the Phœnician alphabet was derived from the same elements, whether it was the parent, not only of the Greek and the Roman, but also of the Semitic alphabets generally, and we shall probably discover more than one other independent source whence some of the Oriental alphabets may have been derived.

This, then, is one point of view in which the Archæ-

ologist may regard all written memorials—as evidence either of the invention or of the tradition of the alphabetic system; but the history of the art cannot be fully investigated without taking into account the nature of the writing materials employed. These materials have been very different in different ages and countries. Character may be either *graven*, on hard materials, such as stone or metal; *written* on pliable materials, such as bark, papyrus, parchment, linen, paper; or *impressed*, as the potters' names are on the Samian ware, or the legends of coins on a metallic surface. The greater part of the writing of the ancient world has been preserved on the native rock, hewn stones, metallic tablets, or baked clay, as in the case of the Cuneiform character. There was a preference for hard unpliable materials in classical antiquity, just as there was a preference for parchment as a writing material all through the Middle Ages, both in Europe and Asia. As the harder materials fell into disuse, the character, of course, became more cursive, writings circulated more generally from hand to hand, and were multiplied by frequent copies, not only to meet an increased demand, but because that which is written is more perishable than that which is graven; the stroke of the chisel is a more abiding record than the stroke of the pen.

In consequence of this difference in the writing material, the researches of the Palæographer of classical antiquity embrace a far wider field than those of the mediæval Palæographer. It is in the marble and the granite, in the market-places, the temples, and the sepulchres of the ancients that we must search for their records; these were their libraries, their muni-

ment-rooms, their heralds' college. If Magna Charta had been ceded to the Roman plebs, instead of to the English nobles, it would not have been called Magna Charta, but Magna Tabula, or Magna Columna; most of the Diplomatic record of the ancients was a Lapidary record.

I have been as yet considering the written memorials of races only as they are evidence of the art of writing itself, but Archæology has not only to study character and writing materials, but also to interpret more or less the meaning of the words written, and to inquire how far they have an historical value.

Now all written character, all *literature*, to use this word in its original sense, may be divided into two great classes — the Composed and the Documentary.

By Composed Literature I mean history, poetry, oratory, philosophy, and such like mental products; by Documentary Literature I mean all writings which have no claim to rank as literary composition—such as deeds, charters, registers, calendars, lists—in a word, all those historical and literary materials, some of which are already absorbed into composed history and composed literature; some of which are stored up in national, ecclesiastical, municipal, or private archives; some of which yet remain *in situ*, associated with the architectural monuments and works of art on which they are inscribed, and some of which, uncared for or unknown, moulder on the surface of untravelled lands, or in the ruins of deserted cities.

Now, in regard to Composed Literature, it is obvious that its subject-matter is far too vast for the scope and

limits of archæological research; it is chiefly with its manuscript text that the Palæographer has to deal; his business is to collect, decipher, collate, edit. Printing transfers the text from his hands to those of the philologer, the historian, and the critic.

In dealing with the Literature of Documents, the Archæologist has to do more than barely edit the text. On him, in a great measure, devolves the task of interpretation and classification; the mere deciphering or printing the documents does not at once render them accessible to the general reader, nothing but long familiarity, acquired in the course of editing, can give dexterity and intelligence in their use. It is the business, then, of the Archæologist to prepare for the historian the literature of documents generally, as Gruter has edited his great work on Latin inscriptions, or Muratori the documents of mediæval Italy.

He must, as far as possible, ascertain the value of this unedited material in reference to what is already incorporated with printed literature, how far it suggests new views, supplies new facts, illustrates, corroborates, or disproves something previously acknowledged or disputed; whether, in a word, it will contribute anything to the great mass of human knowledge which printing already embodies.

Composed Literature should be, as far as possible, confronted with those written documents which are, in reference to it, vouchers, commentary, or supplement. Sometimes we possess the very materials which the historian used; sometimes we have access to evidence of which he had no knowledge.

Now, it is needless to insist on the historical value

of such documents as the inscription of Darius on the rock of Behistan, the Rosetta stone, and the many hieroglyphical and cuneiform texts which the sagacity and learning of a Young, a Champollion, and a Rawlinson have taught the nineteenth century to interpret by means of these two trilingual keys.

Such evidence speaks for itself. When in the laboratory of the philologer and the historian these documents shall have been slowly transmuted into composed narrative, we may hope to contemplate the ancient world from a new point of view. The narrow boundaries of classical chronology may be enlarged by these discoveries as the barriers of ancient geography were burst through by the adventurous prow of the Genoese navigator; events, dynasties, and personages, which flit before our strained eyes, far away in the dim offing of primæval history, shrouded in the fantastic haze of Hellenic mythology, may be revealed to us in more defined outlines, if not in perfect fulness of detail.

But it is not merely where there is such immediate promise of a great historical result that the Archæologist must study written evidence, nor must he confine his labours to the editing what is already complete as a document; he must out of isolated and fragmentary materials construct instruments for the historian to use.

Roman coins are not Fasti, nor are Greek coins a treatise on ancient geography, yet the labour of numismatists has made the one almost the best authority for the chronology of the Roman empire, and has found in

the other an inestimable commentary on Strabo and Ptolemy.

The seals, deeds, and sepulchral brasses of the Middle Ages are not in themselves pedigrees, but how have they not contributed to the legal proof of genealogies? The countless rolls relating to the property of individuals preserved in muniment-rooms, seem many of them of little historical value; but out of them what a full and minute history of ancient tenures has been developed; what directories, and gazetteers, and inventories of the past, giving us the names, titles, and addresses of those historic personages, whom in reading the old chronicles we are perpetually liable to confound.

The pioneering labour which prepares the Literature of Documents will always be appreciated by a great historical mind. After a Gruter, an Eckhel, and a Muratori, come a Gibbon, a Niebuhr, a Sismondi.

Before we dismiss this branch of our subject, there is one more point to be noted—the use of written documents not for the immediate purposes of history, but subordinately, as evidence for archæological classification. It is obviously easier to fix the date of an inscribed than of an uninscribed work of art, because Palæography has rules of criticism of its own, perfectly independent of those by which we judge of art or fabric. In arranging the Monumental evidence of Archæology, we cannot dispense with the collateral illustration of the Written evidence. Palæography is the true guide of the historian of Art.

It is this third branch of our whole subject-matter, the Monumental, which we have now to consider.

Monuments are either works of Art or works of Handicraft. Art is either Constructive or Imitative; Handicraft either Useful or Decorative.

I must recall you for a moment to the point from which I started in treating of the history of writing. I said that man was the only animal that imitated in a material external to himself; who, in other words, practised painting and sculpture. To draw and to carve are natural to man; speech, gesture, and music are his transient — sculpture, painting, and writing, his permanent means of utterance. There is hardly any race that has not produced some rude specimens of sculpture and painting; there are a few only who have brought them to perfection.

Now, there is a point of view in which we may regard the imitative art of all races, the most civilised as well as the most barbarous—in reference, namely, to the power of correctly representing animal or vegetable forms such as exist in nature. The perfection of such imitation depends not so much on the manual dexterity of the artist as on his intelligence in comprehending the type or essential qualities of the form which he desires to represent. One artist may make the figure of a man like a jointed doll, because he discerns in human structure no more than the general fact of a head, trunk, and limbs. Another may perceive in nature and indicate in art some traces, however slight, of vital organisation, of bones and muscles, and of their relation to each other as pulleys and levers. A third may represent them in their true forms in action and repose.

This is real, intellectual art, because it represents

not the forms merely, but the life which animates them. This difference between one artist and another in the mode of representing organic life is the most essential part of what is called style. As the styles of individual artists differ in this respect, so it is with the art of races.

If we compare the representation of a man in Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek, Mediæval, Chinese, Indian, and Mexican sculpture, we shall see that the same bones and muscles, the same organisation and general type, have been very differently rendered in different ages and countries; and that the examples I have cited may be ranged in a scale from the Greek downward to the Mexican, according to the amount of essential truth embodied in these several representations of nature. Here then we get a common measure or standard of the art of all races and ages, whether it be painting or sculpture, whatever be the material in which it is executed; whether the work of which we have to judge be one of the statues from the pediments of the Parthenon, or an Otaheitan idol; a fresco of Michael Angelo, or a Dutch picture; a painted window, or a picture on a Greek vase; a coin, or the head of Memnon; the Bayeux tapestry, or the cartoons at Hampton Court.

All these are works of imitative art; some more, some less worthy of being so called.

Now, the artists who executed these works had this in common, that they all tried to imitate nature, each according to his powers and means, but they differed very widely in those powers and means. Some painted, some carved; some worked on a colossal, others on a

minute scale. For the solution of the problem they had proposed to themselves, a very varied choice of means presented itself. Thus by the word "painting" we may mean a fresco painting, or an oil painting, or an encaustic painting, or a painted window, or a vase picture. Sculpture may be in wood, in ivory, in marble, in metal. Each material employed by the sculptor or painter imposes on him certain conditions which are the law under which he ought to work. He may either turn the material he uses to the best account, master its difficulties, and atone for its deficiencies, or he may in turn be mastered by them.

The difference between artist and artist, or school and school, in this respect, constitutes what has been justly called specific style, as opposed to general style. The Archæologist must take cognisance not only of general, but of specific style. He must compare the art of different races as much as possible *in pari materiâ*; he must ascertain as nearly as he can the real conditions under which the artist wrought before he can appreciate his work; he must observe how similar necessities have in different ages suggested the trial of similar technical means; how far the artist has succeeded or failed in the working out these experiments.

In this, as in every other branch of archæological research, he will be led to remark great original differences between races, and certain resemblances, the result of the influence of school upon school by tradition or imitation.

By this study of external characteristics he will obtain the true criteria for arranging all art both chronologically and ethnographically, and will also be able to

form some kind of scale of the relative excellence of all that he has to classify.

Thus far his work is analogous to that of the Palæographer, who acquaints himself with the systems of writing of all races, traces their tradition and the changes they undergo, and assigns them to their respective periods and countries.

But, as we have already pointed out, the Palæographer has not only to acquaint himself with the handwriting, but to bestow more or less of study on the words written; and in some cases, as in the Egyptian hieroglyphics, the work of deciphering and of interpretation compel him to be deeply versed in history and philology.

So it is with the Archæology of Art. We must not only know the mere external characteristics of the style, we must know the meaning or motive which pervades it; we must be able to read and to interpret it.

It is only a knowledge of the meaning or motive of art that enables us to appreciate its most essential qualities. The highest art is thought embodied and stated to the eye; hence it has been well defined as "mute poetry."

Now, when we survey all the remains of art of which Archæology has cognisance, we shall perceive that it is only a certain portion of these remains that can be said to embody thought.

It is those works of Imitative Art which embody thought, which have the first claim on the attention of the Archæologist, and, above all, those which express religious ideas.

The most elevated art which the world has yet seen

has been devoted to the service of Religion. Art has stereotyped and developed that Figurative and Symbolic language, of which we find the partial and transient expression in the Oral Symbolism of rituals.

When I speak of a Figurative and Symbolic language, I include under this general term all idols and visible emblems, all productions of the painter and sculptor, which have been either themselves objects of worship, or have been associated with such objects—have been designed to address religious sympathies, to teach religious doctrines, or to record religious traditions.

There is, perhaps, hardly any race, which has not at some period of its history possessed some sort of Figurative and Symbolic language for religious uses. The utterance of this language is feebler, or more emphatic; its range of expression narrower, or more varied, according to the character of the religion, and the genius of the race. Some religions are pre-eminently sensuous, such, for instance, as the Egyptian, the Greek, the Hindoo, in fact, all the great systems of polytheistic worship; in other cases, the nature of the creed warrants and requires a much narrower range of Figurative and Symbolic language, as in the case of the ancient Persian fire-worship, or interdicts the most essential part of it, as the Mahommedan interdicts all representation of animal forms.

Now, as in Philology, we lay the foundation for a general comparison of articulate languages by the study of some one example more perfect in structure, fuller and richer in compass than the rest, such a type, for instance, as the Greek or the Sanscrit; so, if we would acquaint ourselves with the Figurative and Symbolic

language of Art generally, we should study it in its finest form.

When we survey the monuments of all time, we find two perfectly developed and highly cultivated forms of utterance, the language of Greek Art, and the language of the Art of Mediæval Christendom; in almost all other races the expression of religious ideas in art seems, in comparison, like a rude dialect, not yet fashioned by the poet and the orator. Of the idolatrous nations of the ancient world, the Greeks were, as far as we know, the first to reduce the colossal proportions of the idol, to discard monstrous combinations of human and animal forms, and to substitute the image of beautiful humanity. The sculptor and the poet shaped and moulded the mythic legends; as the Figurative language of Art grew more perfect, as the mastery over form enabled the artist to embody thought more poetically and eloquently, the ancient hieratic Symbolism became less and less prominent.

As the Greek myth gradually absorbed into itself the earliest theological and philosophical speculations of the race, blending religious tradition with the traditions of history, personified agencies with the deeds of real personages, the record of physical phenomena with poetic allegory—so the Figurative Language of Art expanded to express this complex development. Mythography, or the expression of the Myth in Art, moved on, *pari passu*, with mythology, or the expression of the Myth in Literature: as one has reacted on the other, so is one the interpreter of the other.

It is impossible, till we have studied both conjointly, to see how completely the religion of the Greeks pene-

trated into their social institutions and daily life. The Myth was not only embodied in the sculpture of Pheidias on the Parthenon, or portrayed in the paintings of Polygnotos in the Stoa Poikile; it was repeated in a more compendious and abbreviated form on the fictile vase of the Athenian household; on the coin which circulated in the market-place; on the mirror in which the Aspasia of the day beheld her charms. Every domestic implement was made the vehicle of Figurative language, or fashioned into a Symbol.

Now, to us this mother-tongue of Mythography, these household words, so familiar to the Greeks, are a dead letter, except so far as the Archæologist can explain them by glosses and commentaries. His task is one of interpretation—he is the Scholiast and the Lexicographer of Art.

The method of interpretation which the classical Archæologist has applied to Greek Art is well worthy the attention of those who undertake the interpretation of Christian Mediæval Art.

As the Greeks have bequeathed to us not only a Mythology, but a Mythography, so in the painting and sculpture of mediæval Christendom we find an unwritten Theology, a popular, figurative teaching of the sublime truths of Christianity, blended with the apocryphal traditions of many generations. The frescoes of the great Italian masters, from Giotto to Michael Angelo, the ecclesiastical sculpture of mediæval Europe generally, are the texts in which we should study this unwritten theology.

It is in these continuous compositions, designed by great artists, that we can best study the Figurative and

Symbolic language of Christian Art as a scheme, and seek the key to its interpretation. This key once obtained, we learn to read not the great texts merely, but the most compendious and abbreviated Symbolism, the isolated passages and fragments of the greater designs.

It is then that we recognise the unity of motive and sentiment which runs all through Mediæval Art, and see how an external unity of style is the result of a deeper spiritual unity, as the manners of individuals spring out of their whole character and way of life ; it is then that antiquities, which to the common observer seem of small account, become to us full of meaning. Every object which reflects and repeats the greater art of the period, whether it be costume, or armour, or household furniture, is of interest to the Archæologist.

The cross which formed the hilt of the sword of the warrior; the martyrology which was embroidered on the cope of the ecclesiastic, or which inlayed the binding of his missal; the repetition of the design of Raffaelle in the Majolica ware; if not in themselves the finest specimens of mediæval art, are valuable as evidence of the universality of its pervading presence—as fragments of a great whole.

In many cases the interpreter of Christian Art has an easier task than his fellow-labourer, the interpreter of Greek Art. Christian Iconography is at once more congenial, and more familiar to us, than Greek Mythography. Much of the religious feeling it embodies still exists in the hearts of men ; the works of Christian art themselves afford far ampler illustration of their own language. The frescoes of Cimabue and Giotto, the great poems of Fra Angelico, Raffaelle, and Michael

Angelo, have not perished like the works of the Greek painters, or been preserved to us in fragments, like the sculptures of the Parthenon. The façades of the cathedrals of Europe are still rich in statuary; the "dim religious light" still pierces through "the storied window."

We possess not only the original designs of the great sculptors and painters of the Middle Ages, but endless copies and reflections from these designs in the costume, armour, coins, seals, pottery, furniture, and other antiquities of the contemporary period. We are not compelled to seek for Art in what was meant as mere Handicraft, as we study the history of Greek painting in vase-pictures; we have not only the Art, but the Handicraft too.

But we have not shown as much diligence in applying Mediæval Literature to the illustration of contemporary Mediæval Art as the Classical Archæologist has shown in comparing mythology and mythography.

Christian Iconography and Christian Symbolism must be read, as Lord Lindsay has read them, with the illustration of the lives of the saints, the theology and the poetry of the Middle Ages. We must study the Pisan Campo Santo with Dante in our hands.

In these remarks on the figurative language of Art, I have not attempted to lay down for your guidance systems and canons of interpretation; I have rather called your attention to the example of classical art in which a particular method of study has been long and successfully carried out.

Nor have I at all alluded to a most essential part of the History of Art, the tradition of its Figurative and

Symbolic language from race to race; or shown how far the Mythography of the Greeks was modified by, and contributed in turn to modify, the Oriental and Egyptian Mythographies; how Roman Pantheism gradually absorbed into itself all these motley elements; how the earlier Christian Art, like the architecture, law, language and literature of mediæval Christendom, was full of adapted Paganism; how, not forgetting the power of deep-rooted associations, it borrowed the symbols of an extinct idolatry, as mediæval literature borrowed the imagery of the classical writers: how long the influence of that symbolism and that imagery has survived, affecting, in a peculiar manner, the view of physical nature both in art and poetry: and how, lastly, the great features of the landscape which ancient sculpture and poetry translated into a peculiar figurative language, have been, so to speak, retranslated in the painting and the poetry of an age of physical science like our own.

It remains for me to say a few words on other branches of Imitative Art. There is an ideal art which is not devoted to religion, but purely secular in its subject-matter and purpose, just as there is a secular poetry which gradually prevails over the religious poetry of an earlier age; but the portion of this secular ideal art of which Archæology has to take cognisance is comparatively small.

Again, there is Historical Art, or that which represents real events in history; and Portraiture, which, taken in its widest sense, includes all representation not only of human beings, but also of visible objects in nature. Now it is hardly necessary to insist on the interest either of Historical Art or of Portraiture as archæological evidence.

Historical art can never be as trustworthy a document as written history: its narrative power is far more limited—but how much it illustrates written history, how much it supplies where written history is wanting, or is yet undeciphered!

The sculptures of Egypt and Assyria are the supplement to the hieroglyphic, or cuneiform text; the type of the Roman coin completes the historical record of its legend; the legend explains the type; the combination presents to us some passage in the public life of the emperor of the day.

Inscribed Historical Art is at all times the simplest and most popular mode of teaching history; perhaps in such a state of society as that of Egypt or Assyria, the only mode.

Again, when Historical Art is presented to us completely detached from the written text, and where the composed history of a period is ever so ample—who would not use the illustration offered by Historical Art? —who would reject such a record as the spiral frieze on the column of Trajan, or the reliefs on the triumphal arches of the Roman empire? Who would not think the narrative of Herodotus, vivid and circumstantial as it is, would acquire fresh interest, could we see that picture of Darius setting out on his Scythian expedition, which Mandrokles caused to be painted?—or the representation of Marathon with which Mikon and Panænos adorned the Athenian Stoa Poikile?

If Historical Art contribute to the fuller illustration of composed history, still more does Portraiture. If the very idea of the great *dramatis personæ*, who have successively appeared on the stage of universal history,

stirs our hearts within us, who would not wish to see their bodily likeness?—who would not acknowledge that the statues and busts of the Cæsars are the marginal illustration of the text of Tacitus? that the history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, rich as it is in every kind of document, is incomplete without the portraits by Vandyke and Reynolds?—or, to pass from the portraits of individuals to the general portraiture of society, can we form a just idea of Greek and Roman manners without the pictures on vases and the pictures of Pompeii? or of mediæval manners without the illuminations of manuscripts? Are not the Nimroud sculptures all that remains to us of the social life of the great Assyrian empire? If costume, armour, household furniture and implements, are all part of the history of manners, if these relics are in themselves worth studying, so too must be those representations which teach us how they were applied in daily life.

Having considered the monuments of Imitative, I will now pass on to the monuments of Constructive Art, and the products of the useful and decorative arts generally, or of Handicraft, from all which may be elicited a kind of latent history, rather implied than consciously stated, not transmitted in writing, nor even in words.

Of all monuments of Constructive Art, the most abiding, the most impressive and full of meaning, are the architectural. The first object of the Archæologist, in studying a building, should be to ascertain its date, the race by whom, and the purpose for which it was erected. But his task does not end with this primary

classification; he ought to indicate the value of Architecture as evidence for the Historian, to read and interpret the indirect record it embodies.

Of many aspects in which we may regard Architecture, these three may be especially noted. First, it is an evidence of the constructive power of a race, of their knowledge of mechanical science. Secondly, being an investment of capital, it is a measure of the financial resources of a nation at a particular period, a document for their financial history. Thirdly, we must consider Architecture as the great law which has in all time regulated the growth and affected the form of painting and sculpture, till they attain to a certain period in their development, and free themselves from its influence. I shall say a few words on each of these three points.

First of Architecture, as evidence of constructive power: In all building operations more or less of the same problems have to be solved.

The purpose of the edifice, the space allotted for the site, the quantity and quality of the building material, and the law of gravitation, prescribe a certain form. These are the external necessities within which the will of the architect is free to range. The problems he has to solve may be more or less difficult; the purpose of the building may dictate a more or less complicated structure; the site and building materials may be more or less favourable; the mechanical knowledge required may be more or less profound; it is in the solution of these problems that various races have shown a greater or less degree of intellectual power; it is from the study of the architectural problems so solved that we obtain a common

measure of the mind of races perfectly distinct from any other standard.

In a Gothic cathedral the truths of mechanical science are stated, not by words, but by deeds; it is knowledge, not written, but enacted.

The pyramids and temples of Egypt, the Parthenon, the ruins of Baalbec, the Duomo at Florence, the railway bridges and viaducts of the nineteenth century, are all so many chapters in the history of mechanical science, not in themselves treatises, but containing the materials of treatises. So much has been recently written on this branch of architectural study, that I shall merely allude to it here, especially in addressing an audience many of whom have the advantage of hearing every year a lecture on structure from the historian of our cathedrals, Professor Willis.

Having glanced at Architecture as part of the history of science, let us regard it for a moment as part of the history of finance. In all Architecture there is an outlay of the capital of labour, and of the capital absorbed in the cost of materials. The wealth thus permanently invested, if it be national wealth, is seldom replaced by any direct financial return. In the balance-sheet of nations it is more frequently entered as capital sunk, than as capital profitably invested.

When, therefore, we have made an estimate of the probable cost of an ancient edifice, grounded partly on the evidence of the building itself, partly on our general knowledge of the period to which it belongs, we must next consider out of what resources it was reared: did the builders invest income or capital? in the hope of profitable return, or from what other of

the many motives which induce men to spend money?

Here, then, we find an architectural common measure, not only of the wealth of nations at a particular period, but also of their taste and judgment in spending that wealth.

When we survey the architecture of all time in regard to its motive, it presents to us under this aspect four principal groups. It is either Votive, Commemorative, Military, or Commercial. By Votive, I mean all edifices dedicated to the service of Religion; by Commemorative, such structures as the triumphal arches of Rome; all sepulchral monuments from the Pyramids downwards; all buildings, in a word, of which the paramount object is national or personal record.

The term Military needs no explanation.

By Commercial, I mean much of what is commonly called civil architecture: all such works as bridges, exchanges, aqueducts, moles, tunnels, which, however great the original outlay, are undertaken by nations, companies, or individuals, with the ultimate hope of a profitable return.

Now, if it be admitted that the religious sentiment—the historical instinct, or rather the sense of national greatness—its source—the military spirit or necessities—the commercial enterprise and resources of a race, severally determine the character of its Votive, Commemorative, Military, and Commercial architecture—such monuments will give us a measure of the relative strength and successive predominance of each of these great motives of national action. Thus, in the chart of

universal history, we may more distinctly trace the direction and calculate the force of some of the tides and currents of public opinion by which society has been variously swayed.

In Egypt, Architecture was pre-eminently Votive and Commemorative: in the temples of the Athenian Akropolis, the Votive and the Commemorative were blended, the glory of the individual was merged in that of the state—the idea of the state was inseparable from that of its religion; the practical genius of the Romans was developed in great works at once Military and Commercial — roads, bridges, aqueducts, moles, tunnels, fortifications; Votive and Military architecture absorbed the surplus wealth of the Middle Ages; in our own day, the magnificence of our Commercial architecture, of our railway bridges and viaducts —contrasts somewhat strangely with the stunted and starveling Gothic of our modern churches; but it is fair to remember that the imperious need of an ever-increasing population has transferred to charity part of the resources of architecture, and that we must not seek for the Votive investment of the nineteenth century only in its Religious edifices.

The study of the motive of architectural investment is essential to the Archæologist for the due comprehension of the whole style of the Architecture; but the tracing out the financial sources of that investment is rather the business of the Historian. Therefore, I will but remind you here how the centralising power of despotism reared with the slave labour of captive nations, and the produce of the most fertile of soils, the Votive and Commemorative architecture of Egypt—how

the victories of Marathon and Salamis gained for Athens those island and Asiatic dependencies, whose tribute built the Parthenon—how Rome gave back to a conquered world part of their plundered wealth in the aqueducts, bridges, harbours, and fortifications, which the Empire constructed for the provinces—and how, lastly, in most parts of Mediæval Christendom, as there were but three great Landowners, so there were but three great Architects—the Sovereign, the Churchman, and the Noble.

The third aspect in which the Archæologist must regard Architecture, is in its relation to Painting and Sculpture. Everyone conversant with the history of Art knows that Architecture, Painting, and Sculpture, as they are naturally connected, so have in all times been more or less associated, and that the divorce by which, in modern times, they have been parted, is as exceptional as it is to be deplored. In a great age of art, the structure modifies and is in turn modified by the painting and sculpture with which it is decorated, and it is out of the antagonism of the decorative and the structural that a harmonious whole is produced. The great compositions of Pheidias in the pediments of the Parthenon were regulated by the triangular space they had to fill, the proportions of the whole building itself were again adjusted to the scale of the chryselephantine statue of Pallas Athene which it contained; for in the Greek, and the ancient idolatries generally, the temple of a god was considered his dwelling-place, his statue in the interior was the symbol—and more than the symbol—of his bodily presence.

Therefore, if the Mythography was colossal, so was

the Architecture; if the genius of the religion invested the god with a form and character not so much exceeding the familiar proportions of humanity, the architecture was adjusted to the same standard. This, doubtless, was one chief cause of the difference in scale between the Egyptian and Greek temple.

The subject might be pursued much further. It might be observed that in Gothic architecture, where the building is dedicated to a Being who dwells not in temples made with hands, and whose presence there is rather shadowed forth by the whole character of the edifice than embodied in the tangible form of a statue, the structural necessities are supreme; the painting and sculpture are not, as in Greek buildings, works of art set in an architectural frame, but subordinate and accessory to the main design.

I have glanced for a moment at this relation between Architecture and Imitative Art, because the principle it involves is equally applicable to all cases where decoration is added to structure.

The Archæologist cannot fail to remark how severe, in a true age of art, is the observance of this great Architectonic law—how its influence pervades all design—how the pictures on Greek vases, or the richly embossed and chased work of the mediæval goldsmiths, are all adjusted to the form and surface allotted to them by an external necessity.

Having considered the greatest form of constructive art, Architecture, at such length, I have hardly time to do more than allude very briefly to the remaining material products of man comprised under the general term—Monumental Evidence.

To attempt here to classify these miscellaneous antiquities would be as difficult as the classification of the various objects which may form part of the great Exhibition of 1851. The task which England has undertaken for 1851 is an Exhibition of the Industry of all nations at the present day ; the object which Archæology would achieve if possible is not less than the Exhibition of the Industry of all nations for all time.

Wherever man has left the stamp of mind on brute matter; whether we designate his work as structure, texture, or mixture, mechanical or chymical; whether the result be a house, a ship, a garment, a piece of glass, or a metallic implement, these memorials of economy and invention will always be worthy of the attention of the Archæologist.

Our true motto should be—

HOMO SUM, HUMANI NIHIL A ME ALIENUM PUTO.

To collect the implements, weapons, pottery, costume, and furniture of races is to contribute materials not only to the history of mining, metallurgy, spinning, weaving, dyeing, carpentry, and the like arts, which minister to civilisation, but also to illustrate the physical history of the countries where these arts were practised.

The history of an art involves more or less that of its raw material; whether that material is native or imported, has been turned to the best account, or misused and squandered, are questions ultimately connected with the history of finance, agriculture, and commerce, and hardly to be solved without constant

reference to the Monumental Evidence of Archæology. I will not detain you longer with this part of the subject; those who wish to know why a spear-head or a stone hammer are as interesting to an Archæologist as fossils to the Geologist, should visit the museum at Copenhagen, and read M. Worsaae's work on Scandinavian antiquities, its result—should learn how the Etruscan remains in the Museo Gregoriano of the Vatican illustrate Homer, and the remains of Pompeii in the Museo Borbonico present to us Roman life in the Augustan age.

I have endeavoured in these remarks to present to you an outline, however slight, of the whole subject-matter of Archæology—a sketch of its Oral, Written, and Monumental Evidence.

In treating of these three branches, my object has not been so much to explain how they may be severally best collected, classified, and interpreted, as to show by a few examples the historical results to which such previous labours, duly and conscientiously carried out, will lead; the relation of Archæology to History, as a ministering and subsidiary study, as the key to stores of information inaccessible or unknown to the scholar, as an independent witness to the truth of Printed Record.

I have said nothing of the qualifications required of the Archæologist, the conditions under which he works, the instruments and appliances on which he depends. He who would master the manifold subject-matter of Archæology, and appreciate its whole range and compass, must possess a mind in which the reflective and the perceptive faculties are duly balanced; he must combine

with the æsthetic culture of the Artist, and the trained judgment of the Historian, not a little of the learning of the Philologist; the plodding drudgery which gathers together his materials, must not blunt the critical acuteness required for their classification and interpretation; nor should that habitual suspicion which must ever attend the scrutiny and precede the warranty of archæological evidence, give too sceptical a bias to his mind.

The Archæologist cannot, like the Scholar, carry on his researches in his own library, almost independent of outward circumstances.

For *his* work of reference and collation he must travel, excavate, collect, arrange, delineate, decipher, transcribe, before he can place his whole subject before his mind.

He cannot do all this single-handed; in order to have free scope for his operations he must perfect the machinery of museums and societies.

A museum of antiquities is to the Archæologist what a botanical garden is to the Botanist; it presents his subject compendiously, synoptically, suggestively, not in the desultory and accidental order in which he would otherwise be brought in contact with its details.

An Archæological Society gives corporate strength to efforts singly of little account; it can discover, preserve, register, and publish on a far greater scale, and with more system than any individual, however zealous and energetic.

A society which would truly administer the ample province of British Archæology should be at once the

Historian of national art and manners, the Keeper of national record and antiquities, the Ædile of national monuments.

These are great functions. Let us try, in part at least, to fulfil them. But let us not forget that national Archæology, however earnestly and successfully pursued, can only disclose to us one stage in the whole scheme of human development—one chapter in the whole Book of human History—can supply but a few links in that chain of continuous tradition, which connects the civilised nineteenth century with the races of the primæval world, —which holds together this great brotherhood in bonds of attachment more enduring than the ties of national consanguinity, more ennobling even than the recollections of ancestral glory—which, traversing the ruins of empires, unmoved by the shock of revolutions, spans the abyss of time, and transmits onward the message of the Past.

ON THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE COLLECTIONS OF ART AND ANTIQUITIES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

LETTER TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE NATIONAL GALLERY.*

Rhodes, May 28, 1853.

SIR,—As a Committee of the House of Commons has been recently appointed to consider (amongst other things) "in what mode the Collective Monuments of Antiquity and Fine Art may be most securely preserved and advantageously exhibited," I take the liberty of addressing you on this subject, in the hope that the views which I would submit in this letter may appear to you not undeserving the attention of the Committee of which you are a Member.

In dealing with the question now before them, the Committee will have to take into consideration the various plans which have been proposed for the formation of a new Museum of Art, and this will lead them to examine the condition of two great collections already existing, in the National Gallery, and in the Department of Antiquities at the British Museum.

* Report from Select Committee on the National Gallery, 1853. Appendix xii. p. 772. Report of National Gallery Site Commission, 1857. Appendix ii. p. 159.

In the present letter I do not propose to enter upon the question, whether it be desirable or not to remove the National Gallery and the Department of Antiquities from the situations which they now occupy, and thus to combine all productions of the fine arts in one common collection, nor shall I offer any suggestions with regard to the site, plan, and interior arrangements best suited for a new Museum of Art.

I shall confine myself to the question, whether, in the event of an entirely new arrangement of our national collections, the antiquities now at the British Museum ought to be considered as one entire collection, or whether, as has been recently proposed, the finest specimens only should be transferred to a new museum of art, the rest of the antiquities being left where they are at present, or distributed in other museums, of which the formation is now contemplated.

This question is one of the greatest moment, and demands the most careful consideration on the part of the Committee.

If we appeal merely to precedent, it might be argued that the mass of objects comprised under the general term Antiquities, have always been united and exhibited in juxtaposition in the most celebrated museums of Europe ever since the first establishment of such collections in the fifteenth century; that the most distinguished writers on Archæology, from the time of Winckelmann to the present day, have, with hardly an exception, advocated this principle of arrangement, and consequently that nothing can justify us in deviating from a system so generally adopted in Europe, and supported by such authorities.

But, as such a mode of reasoning might appear to a Committee of the House of Commons something like begging the question, it will be well to discuss the case a little more fully, and to examine it for ourselves, keeping out of sight for the moment all arguments derived from precedent in other countries.

In order to determine how the antiquities in the British Museum may be best arranged, we must first consider in what these antiquities consist, and I will therefore here make a brief and rapid survey of the contents of a department which occupies a large portion of the whole area of the British Museum.

The simplest mode of classifying the various objects contained in this department, and comprehended under the common term Antiquities, would be to regard them, first, as the productions of various races of the ancient world, and, principally, of four great nations, the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Greeks, and the Romans; secondly, the productions of each race may be roughly arranged in three classes, namely, Monuments of Art, or productions of what are called the Fine Arts; Inscribed Monuments, under which term I would include all inscriptions, whether on marble, brass, or any other material; and thirdly, Monuments of Handicraft, or productions of the useful and decorative arts.

These several classes may be again arranged chronologically.

Having thus indicated generally the mode in which the whole mass of antiquities may be classified, I will now pass in review the antiquities of the four great nations of the ancient world collected in the British Museum.

In the case of each nation the same three classes, monuments of art, inscribed monuments, and works of handicraft, will have to be considered, both separately and in relation one to another; and again, we must not only regard the antiquities of each race separately, but also comparatively in reference to the antiquities of other races.

The British Museum further contains a collection of mediæval antiquities, but this is hardly yet sufficiently extensive to be worth taking into account in a general survey; mediæval antiquities, however, may be classified on the same plan as the other collections, and must be included in the same general scheme of Archæology.

In the following remarks I hope to succeed in proving, first, that, in the case of each race, the three classes under which I have arranged all antiquities, illustrate each other in so many ways, and, when united by juxtaposition, so completely form one subject, that in any plan of future exhibition such juxtaposition must be considered as a paramount and indispensable condition; secondly, that the antiquities of the several races of the ancient world can never be so well understood and appreciated as when the whole of the Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek, and Roman collections are placed in the same museum, and thus afford the most convenient and ready means of comparison by the eye.

To commence with the Antiquities of the Egyptians: the Egyptian collection at the British Museum is perhaps the most complete and the most instructive in Europe; it contains a number of colossal statues representing deities or kings, and an immense variety of smaller figures, in which the types of the larger sculptures are

repeated in bronze, in alabaster, in porcelain, and in other materials.

In order to understand what these specimens of sculpture and of plastic art represent, we must study the inscriptions, which are in a great many cases graven on the statue itself, and which contain the name and titles of the deity or personage represented.

These inscriptions being in the hieroglyphic character, we are at once led from the study of the monuments of art to the study of the inscribed monuments, and it is therefore found convenient to arrange the hieroglyphic texts side by side with the statues.

This is an arrangement which I do not imagine that any one would wish to disturb. In thus combining the hieroglyphic texts with the sculptures, we are but carrying out the design of the Egyptians themselves; for it must be remembered that with them sculpture and writing were hardly considered as distinct arts, and that the hieroglyphic character communicates thoughts to the mind, not merely by purely conventional signs, such as constitute later systems of writing, but by presenting to the eye the portraits or likenesses of visible things.

The inscribed monuments of Egypt, studied in connection with the monuments of art, are among the chief sources of direct information with regard to the religion and history of the Egyptian people, the more valuable, of course, because this peculiar race never possessed a regularly developed literature.

Historical record, mythical tradition, and religious rituals are blended together in these monuments; the Egyptians taught theology and recorded real events, partly by actual representations in sculpture, partly

by Hieroglyphic texts engraved on stone or written on papyrus.

Besides these larger monuments, the Egyptian collection contains a vast treasure of miscellaneous antiquities, which I have here designated monuments of handicraft, to distinguish them from monuments of art on the one hand, and from inscribed monuments on the other.

These miscellaneous antiquities, acquainting us with many minute details in the private life of the Egyptian people, form so completely one subject with the monuments of art, and the inscribed monuments, that no reasonable person would, I conceive, wish to separate them.

This is a question which does not require elaborate reasoning; a survey of these antiquities at the British Museum produces a vivid impression even on the superficial observer, because a vast mass of historical information is here condensed into a small space and exhibited in a popular and intelligible form.

I shall not therefore discuss at greater length the question whether the Egyptian Collection of Antiquities, consisting of sculptures and other works of art, inscribed monuments, and miscellaneous antiquities, should be kept together in one place, and regarded as a whole.

Taking the races of the ancient world in the order which I have laid down, the next collection which we have to consider is the Assyrian. This consists, for the most part, of sculptures in relief, accompanied and doubtless explained by a marginal cuneiform text graven on the stone; so that here the monuments of art and

the inscribed monuments are in most cases one and indivisible.

Besides these larger monuments are a variety of smaller objects, such as cylindrical seals, clay impressions of seals, and inscribed tablets, ivory carvings, ornaments, and implements.

The mere fact that the whole of these objects, with the exception of the cylinders, were so recently discovered in one locality, would be in itself a sufficient reason for keeping the entire collection together; but, independently of such considerations, the several classes of objects serve to illustrate and explain one another. The same peculiar style of art, the same figures and groups, the same cuneiform characters which we find in the larger friezes, reappear on a reduced scale in the cylinders and seals; one system of mythography and of historical record pervades the whole of the art.

With the Assyrian collection we must necessarily combine the few specimens which we possess of Persepolitan sculpture, and the interesting collection of Persian cylinders, which clearly exhibit the tradition of Assyrian art, and its degradation in the hands of another race.

Having considered the antiquities of these great races of the primæval world, I now pass on to the Greek Collection. Here a much wider and more varied field of inquiry opens out before us; the several classes of antiquities are more clearly defined, and at first sight appear less intimately connected one with another.

Adopting the same threefold classification as before, we have to consider, first, monuments of art; secondly, inscribed monuments; and thirdly, a variety of miscellaneous antiquities.

The collection of Greek sculpture at the British Museum far exceeds in interest that of any of the continental galleries.

The most celebrated statues in the museums of Italy have for the most part little claim to be considered original Greek works. Many of them, as for instance the Apollo Belvedere, and the Group of Niobe and her Children, are probably copies executed in the Augustan or in a later age, when Greek art had lost its independence, and worked under Roman dictation.

But in the Marbles of the Parthenon, we have an unquestionable example of that school of sculpture which the judgment of antiquity pronounced most perfect; these masterpieces, like the *Exemplaria* of classical literature, remain to us as a standard of comparison, to which criticism should ever appeal; as a model by which the taste, not of the English people only, but of all future civilised nations, may be formed and elevated.

But we cannot appreciate the art of Pheidias merely by contemplating the scattered fragments of his great design as they are presented to us in the Elgin Room; we must study the larger figures and torsoes as forming part of two great compositions set in the triangular frames of the pediments; we must regard the metopes not merely as individual groups, but as a series of ornaments intended to relieve the monotonous parallelism of horizontal lines in the exterior view of the Parthenon. In criticising the frieze, we must remember that it was designed to be seen from below, in the subdued light of a colonnade, not to be placed on a level with the eye, as it is at present.

Having regarded the sculptures of the Parthenon, in their relation to its architecture, we must next consider them as expressive of the thought of the artist. The design of Pheidias was, in fact, a sculptured poem, in which he celebrated the glory of Pallas Athenè as the tutelary goddess of the Athenian people. The frieze, the metopes, the pedimental compositions, the chryselephantine statue of the goddess within the temple, all had reference to this main theme. This great design has, unfortunately, not been handed down to us in the perfect state in which Pheidias conceived and executed it; but much may be done by the study of collateral evidence, for the illustration and reunion of the fragments which we possess.

This collateral evidence it is the business of Archæology to collect and prepare for the general public.

If we would test this evidence for ourselves, we must follow the archæologist through his researches, and we shall then find that, in order to appreciate the motive and meaning of a work of art, we often require a whole museum for collation and reference ; that Greek sculptures do not explain themselves, but that for their interpretation we must study not only other sculptures, but other branches of Greek antiquities, vases, coins, gems, bronzes, terracottas.

All these classes, as I shall show in noticing them separately, deserve to be examined in connection with Greek sculpture, if we would learn to interpret the meaning, and appreciate the design of the artist to the full.

For instance, we know from Pausanias, that the subject of the composition in the eastern pediment of

the Parthenon was the Birth of Pallas Athenè; but the central figures in that pediment having been completely destroyed, the character of the original composition would be entirely a matter of conjecture, were it not that this subject is represented on a number of fictile vases, which give us some data as to the mythic personages whom Pheidias would probably have introduced in the scene.

Having considered the Elgin Marbles as fragments of a great design, and having endeavoured, with the aid of Archæology, to fill up the outline of that design in our imaginations, we must next view the work of Pheidias in its relation to the whole history of Greek art.

And here the British Museum presents us with a most interesting series of monuments: the Harpy Tomb, in the Lycian Room, a specimen of archaic relief, of which the date is probably not later than B.C. 540; the frieze from the temple of Apollo Epikourios, at Phigalia, which we know to have been executed under the direction of Iktinos, the contemporary and colleague of Pheidias; the sculptures from the tomb of Mausolos, at Halicarnassus, more generally known as the Budrum Marbles, of which the date is fixed by historical evidence to about B.C. 350; the statues and the friezes from the Xanthian Monument, which are probably anterior to the era of Alexander the Great, and which exhibit the curious phenomenon of Greek designs executed by the unskilful hands of less civilised Lycians, and thus, as it were, translated into a barbarous dialect.

I trust that I shall not be thought to exaggerate when I say that this chronological sequence of sculpture is such as no other museum in Europe can boast of.

Take away the Elgin Marbles, and the continuity of the series is destroyed; it is as if the keystone had fallen out of the arch.

Besides these undoubted examples of Greek art, and its derivatives, the British Museum possesses a number of sculptures which were probably copied from fine Greek originals in the Augustan age, or even subsequently. The Towneley Venus, the Towneley Cupid, the Diskobolos, and probably all the finest statues of the Towneley Collection, are of this later period.

In order to determine the relative merit of these works, and to approximate to their dates, we must refer them to the one standard of comparison, the sculptures of the Parthenon, and endeavour to ascertain what the artist really intended to represent by each individual statue. If we do not know what he intended to express, we can judge of his design with but little more certainty than those who venture to criticise a dramatic performance without understanding the language which the actors speak, nor the whole story of the action which passes before their eyes.

How much, for instance, has the interest of the figure in the Gallery of Florence, commonly called "The Listening Slave," been enhanced since this figure has been recognised as part of a group representing the flaying of Marsyas by Apollo; how much of the beauty of the design on the Portland Vase would be lost to us, were it not for the ingenious interpretation of its subject which we owe to that excellent archæologist, the late James Millingen?

The interpretation of ancient sculpture, that is to say, the assigning names to the several figures, and

motives for the actions represented, can only be accomplished by the diligent collation of other classes of antiquities.

Greek sculpture, as I before observed, cannot be explained by its own internal evidence alone, any more than the text of an ancient author can be explained without glosses and commentaries.

In order to make this more clear, I shall now proceed to consider several other branches of Greek art, which must not be lost sight of on account of the paramount interest of sculpture, but which, on the contrary, should be ever studied in connexion with it.

It will be convenient after noticing sculpture in marble to take next in order Bronzes and Terracottas; we thus pass by a natural transition from Glyptic to Plastic Art.

The collection of Bronzes at the British Museum, chiefly the bequest of Mr. Payne Knight, is a particularly fine one.

These antiquities may be described generally as copies on a reduced scale, cast in metal with more or less of skill and care, from the larger works of the ancient statuaries. In the art of casting in metal the Greeks possessed a mechanical means of multiplying their finest sculptures, which not only made these works more popularly known at the time, but has been the means of rescuing from oblivion many fine designs; just as, after the frescoes of Italy shall have mouldered away, the conceptions of Michael Angelo and of Raphael, perpetuated by the art of the engraver, will remain to posterity.

Among the finest specimens of this class of art in

the British Museum are the bronzes of Paramythia, several of which are thought to be copies from celebrated statues by Lysippos ; the Falterona Mars, a very fine example of the archaic style ; the Payne Knight Mercury ; and the head supposed to be of Sophocles.

Of another kind of metallurgy, the embossed and chased work, the British Museum possesses in the bronzes of Siris an unique and precious example, unrivalled in any of the continental museums.

All these works are of the greatest value in tracing the history of ancient art.

Terracottas, like bronzes, may be regarded as reduced copies, studies, or recollections from the works of the great sculptors, executed in clay somewhat carelessly and hastily, but generally exhibiting the inimitable grace and variety which distinguishes every class of Greek design.

The Terracottas deserve far more study than has yet been bestowed on them by the modern artist ; many masterly compositions in this material are unheeded by the ordinary observer on account of the roughness of the execution, and the discoloured state of the surface. Among the Terracottas in the British Museum which specially deserve notice, are some specimens in an archaic style, found in Greek tombs by Mr. Burgon ; others from Italian tombs, which still retain their original colours and gilding, are interesting as examples on a small scale of polychrome decoration.

The subject of Terracottas has a natural affinity to that of Fictile Vases, of which the Museum possesses a collection most instructive, as it includes specimens of almost every style of vase hitherto discovered.

A large number of the vases in this collection are decorated with pictures representing mythical subjects. These vase-pictures are of the greatest interest, while the interest attaching to the vase itself as a mere article of ingenious manufacture is comparatively small.

We have hardly any knowledge of the paintings of the ancients, for none of the works of the great masters have been preserved to us, but we have in the vase-pictures a kind of faint reflection of this higher art. At first sight, indeed, these slight and careless outlines may appear hardly worthy of the attention of the artist, but we must bear in mind the peculiar conditions under which the vase-painter worked: the surface on which he had to paint was generally either convex or concave, rarely flat; he was limited to the employment of very few colours; his composition was bounded by the form of the vase itself; the material with which he had to deal was not adequate to the proper representation of chiaroscuro. Allowing for all these defects, we can still find in the vase-pictures of the best period much to admire, and the same grand simplicity and strength of outline which distinguishes the reliefs of Pheidias is not wanting in the designs of the vases with red figures on a black ground, many of which were doubtless of the same period as the Parthenon. On some vases the compositions of the great masters were probably copied with little modification, as in the celebrated Meidias Vase in the British Museum.

A well-chosen selection of vase-pictures exhibits a variety of styles, which admit of chronological arrangement in periods corresponding generally with the periods into which the whole history of Greek art may be distri-

buted. It is as necessary for the historian of classical art to include a notice of vase-pictures in his general plan, as it is for the historian of mediæval art to have recourse to the collateral illustration of illuminated manuscripts or of Mosaics, in treating of those periods in which other and more perfect examples of painting do not occur.

But ceramography presents to the student of art another and special interest. The subjects of these vase-pictures are almost always mythical scenes; and thus Greek fictile art has preserved for us a rich store of those popular legends which circulated through the agency of art and song, and which formed the staple out of which the poet or the sculptor fashioned their immortal works.

The myth, as treated by the vase-painter, differed from the same myth when amplified and adorned by the genius of Pheidias and Polygnotos, as the ballad differs from the epic.

The vase-pictures make us familiar with a number of myths which we do not find elsewhere celebrated in art or literature; the compositions in these pictures being continuous, and the several figures in the scene being, in many cases, identified by the inscriptions which accompany them, we are enabled by the illustration thus incidentally furnished to interpret and to restore many isolated fragments of sculpture in the museums of Europe.

The vase-pictures forming a chronological series, we are enabled to trace the gradual development of the myth in the hands of the Greek artist; how, as archaic types and modes of representation became obsolete, he

laid them aside, one by one, substituting in their place forms and compositions more attractive to the eye, giving freer scope to his imagination, and less rigidly adhering to traditional rules.

In the case of Christian Art, if we would comprehend and thoroughly appreciate such designs as the frescoes in the Sistine Chapel, and other great religious paintings of the same period, we must study the language of mediæval art generally, and trace back the progress of iconography through a long series of monuments from the first centuries of Christianity, including in our survey much that is unattractive to the eye, for the sake of the information which we thus obtain; and, in like manner, the finest designs of Greek artists cannot be appreciated unless we study Greek mythography as a whole, not rejecting the less inviting portion of the subject, if it serve as a commentary on the rest.

There is another point of view in which Greek vases are of the greatest interest. The Greek myth being essentially popular, and the gods and heroes who form its *dramatis personæ* being almost always invested with the outward form, motives of action, manners, and external circumstances of humanity, the vase-pictures on which these myths are represented reflect the image of the real life of the Greek people, and have thus preserved to us a thousand curious details of costume, armour, etc., which we should not otherwise have known.

It will be convenient after this brief notice of vases to pass on to the consideration of Coins, of which the British Museum possesses a magnificent collection,

formed partly by bequests and partly by purchases, for which large sums have from time to time been liberally granted by Parliament.

Coins are a most important branch of Greek antiquities, which we may regard from many different points of view.

They are susceptible of a double arrangement; the geographical and the chronological. Geographically, they may be distributed through the length and breadth of the Hellenic world; along the whole line of coast in the Mediterranean; on the shores of the Black Sea; over the continent of Asia as far east as the conquests of Alexander; in the outlying countries, such as Britain, Spain, and Gaul, to which Greek commerce penetrated with difficulty and at irregular intervals. Wherever the Greeks planted colonies, there we find a coinage more or less Hellenic in character, in proportion to the ascendancy of the new settlers over the barbarians, among whom they were established.

Coins admit of a chronological arrangement, commencing probably about the first Olympiad and coextensive with the duration of Hellenic civilisation. What are called the types of coins, that is to say, the devices on the obverse and reverse, were among the Greeks generally chosen as the expression of some religious idea; and thus the type was either the figure of some tutelary deity or divine personage, or some animal or symbol consecrated by faith.

These religious figures or symbols which formed the types of coins being in fact the seal of the State impressed on a piece of metal, the engraving of these seals was an object not thought unworthy of the artist.

Hence the finest Greek coins present to us a piece of low relief, or rather of mezzo-relievo, treated according to the great principles observed by the sculptor in marble, with certain necessary modifications, which, as has been admirably explained by Sir C. Eastlake, in his "Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts," constitute the specific style of Numismatic Art.

Coins being, as I have stated, capable of a geographical and of a chronological arrangement, and being worthy to be studied as works of art, a collection such as that of the British Museum contains a store of materials which have not as yet been turned to sufficient account in tracing out the history of ancient sculpture. It will be found that, if a collection of coins, of which the dates are ascertained, be arranged chronologically, their juxtaposition will disclose to us with extraordinary distinctness the characteristics of the style of successive periods, thus affording the most valuable collateral evidence in corroboration of those general criteria which European Archæology has laid down in pronouncing on the age of sculptures and other works of art.

On the other hand, a survey of a large collection of coins geographically arranged, shows us that Hellenic art was brought to the greatest perfection wherever Hellenic civilisation existed in its fullest intensity, that it took root wherever that civilisation was planted, grew with its growth, decayed with its decay.

Thus the coins of Sicily and Magna Græcia, and of many celebrated States in Greece Proper and Asia Minor, are among the most exquisite productions of ancient art; they are finished with a delicacy happily described by Pliny as "Argutiæ operum in minimis quoque rebus custoditæ."

On the other hand, in the border countries, where civilisation and barbarism met, the fusion or the collision of races had a certain influence on the art, as we see by examining the coins of Lycia, Cilicia, Cyprus, the north of Thrace, the Carthaginian side of Sicily, the Greek colonies in Gaul, Spain, and other outlying places. The types of coins being, like the subjects chosen by the sculptor and vase-painter, mythical, we thus learn a great variety of modes of representing the proper deities and other objects of worship; a collection of coins in fact exhibits the Hellenic Pantheon in miniature.

We find on coins the reduced copies of many celebrated statues of antiquity, of which the originals have perished; and on the other hand, we are enabled by numismatic inscriptions to assign titles to many works of sculpture, the subjects of which would otherwise remain unexplained.

Therefore in the arrangement and study of a sculpture gallery we are continually obliged to have recourse to numismatic illustration, in proof of which I need only appeal to such works on the history of Greek Art as the "Denkmäler der Alten Kunst," by K. O Müller, in which a large proportion of the engravings represent coins.

In addition to their interest as materials for the history of art, coins have a further claim on our attention as forming part of the evidence of general history.

They are not only monuments of art in so far as regards their types, they are also inscribed monuments, and their inscriptions, besides exhibiting to us many curious specimens of Hellenic palæography, are almost the only memorials of the Carthaginians, Iberians, and

other races of the ancient world who borrowed the invention of coinage from the Greeks.

Moreover, the inscriptions themselves record a number of historical facts, as any one may see by turning to Eckhel's great work, "Doctrina Numorum Veterum."

Those who occupy themselves with the study of palæography, and of historical monuments generally, should always have a collection of coins at hand for collation and reference.

The subject of coins conducts us immediately to that of Gems and Vitreous Pastes.

The dies of coins are, as I have already stated, seals engraved for the use of the State; gems, on the other hand, are stones engraved or cut in relief, to please the fancy of individuals. Hence it is that, though the subjects cut on gems exhibit the same rich variety of mythical type as we find on coins, and are wrought with the same exquisite delicacy of finish, we cannot so readily throw them into chronological and geographical order.

The inscription, which makes the coin an historical document, is for the most part wanting in the gem, the purpose of the engraver not being to give publicity to what the State wished to commemorate, but to attract and flatter the fancy of individuals. Gems, however, and still more the impressions from gems on vitreous pastes, form a most instructive chapter in the history of ancient art.

In the finest gems, as in the finest coins, we see how the Greek artist contrived to obtain breadth and grandeur of effect, even when his design was on the most limited scale; we can form some idea of the amazing fertility of invention which enabled him to repeat the same figure

or group on a number of separate works, each time with some happy variation; we can appreciate the general refinement of taste which made such objects the cheap luxury of daily life, and circulated them from hand to hand.

The British Museum possesses a very fine collection of gems and vitreous pastes, which deserves to be better known, and more studied in connexion with the history of ancient sculpture.

Having thus noticed the Monuments of Art in the collection of Greek Antiquities, I now come to the Inscribed Monuments.

The system of Greek palæography is made up from a number of sources; it is the result of a careful comparison of the inscriptions on marbles, bronzes, coins, and a variety of other objects.

The materials of the study being so diversified, it is desirable to concentrate them as much as possible, so as to facilitate the work of collation and reference.

If, in the desire to form a museum exclusively devoted to works of art, we admit the inscribed statue, or vase, or coin, but reject the inscribed tablet or pillar, and consign them as mere raw materials of history to some repository of classical learning, we interrupt the sequence in that long series of specimens which is necessary for the study of palæography, and deprive the student of art of a most valuable auxiliary; because it often happens that the date of antiquities, and of sculpture especially, can only be fixed by first determining the age of the inscription which the object in question bears.

Thus, on a votive helmet in the British Museum, we find the fact recorded that it was dedicated by Hiero,

the first king of Syracuse. The forms of the letters in this inscription are identified with those on a very rare coin of Syracuse, the archaic decadrachm, supposed to be the money struck by Demaretè, the Queen of Gelon the First. The date of the inscription on the helmet being known, the coin is consequently nearly contemporary in date, that is to say, about B.C. 479, and a comparison of this coin with others similar in style enables us to assign to the same period a large number of Sicilian coins, many of which do not bear inscriptions.

In like manner, from the very archaic forms of the letters on the celebrated Panathenaic vase of Mr. Burgon, we are justified in assigning this curious example of fictile art to a very early period of Greek history.

A comparison of the style of drawing on this vase with that of other vases which have not inscriptions, leads us to group together other archaic specimens, and we thus classify the Uninscribed Monuments by the aid of the Inscribed.

I have now to consider those Miscellaneous Antiquities which, for want of a better general term, I have called Monuments of Handicraft.

It is impossible to classify them very exactly, for a collection of antiquities may embrace all or any of the products of human industry.

Now, if we regard this class of Greek antiquities merely as materials for the history of the industrial arts, it might be a question whether they should not be completely separated from monuments of art, and isolated in a museum specially devoted to the exhibition of the industry of all nations, in all times, past and present.

But if we examine the collection at the British Museum carefully, we shall find that these antiquities can be more truly appreciated, and are more really instructive, when exhibited in combination with the other monuments of the Greek race, than if regarded apart from the question of their nationality, as mere specimens of the proficiency attained in certain branches of industry at a particular period in the world's history.

Many of these antiquities were originally placed in tombs, or designed for some other votive purpose, and cannot therefore be understood if we regard them only as ordinary industrial products.

This remark applies to many of the helmets and other specimens of armour in the museums of Europe, and to the personal ornaments and other objects found in Etruscan tombs.

We must further bear in mind that in the Hellenic race, art exercised an influence over the grosser work of the craftsman, which unhappily cannot be properly appreciated now that we have established so invidious a line of demarcation between the fine arts and the useful arts, as if there could be no alliance between them.

In fashioning implements for daily and domestic use, the Greek craftsman was, of course, bound to adhere to that general form which was prescribed by the nature of the materials in which he wrought, and by the character of the want which his work was intended to supply; but, so long as he fulfilled the conditions thus imposed on him by an external necessity, and accomplished this purely useful aim, he thought himself at liberty to vary the form and fashion of the object which he had in hand

in any manner which a lively and sportive fancy could suggest.

Thus it is that in such simple articles as drinking-cups we see a preference for the most grotesque and fantastic forms borrowed from animal life; thus the handles of bronze implements are wrought into all manner of curious devices.

It is needless here to accumulate instances; those who will take the trouble to examine the miscellaneous Greek Antiquities at the British Museum cannot fail to admire the abundant and felicitous employment of ornament in the domain of the purely useful arts.

In thus giving shape and reality to the suggestions of his fancy, the Greek craftsman profited by the influence of the great artists of his day, and conformed, perhaps unconsciously, to the architectonic and æsthetic laws developed in their works; and thus we find the pure ornaments of Greek architecture recurring again and again on costume, armour, furniture, and a variety of other objects. So again the national myth which was enshrined in the noblest edifices of the Greeks, and was repeated in endless variety on the coins, vases, gems, and terracottas, reappears as the familiar ornament of household implements, whenever the surface admitted of such decoration.

I may notice here, as an example, the bronze mirrors in the British Museum, on the backs of which a variety of mythic subjects are engraved.

On these grounds I would submit that the miscellaneous antiquities of the Greeks, including all their industrial products, should be exhibited in combination with the finest models of ancient art; and I conceive

that, thus combined, they would yield a far more valuable lesson to the modern artisan than if banished to an industrial museum. If, indeed, the ancients had bequeathed to us a series of specimens of steam-engines and other instruments which might serve to show the progress of mechanical science, it would become a question whether such objects ought to be placed in a museum of art and of historical documents. But in the greater part of the material productions of the Greeks, it is rather the handicraft and taste which we have to estimate and to admire than the mechanical knowledge and appliances.

The wheel of the Greek potter was a simple contrivance, such as many nations might claim the invention of, but the innate sense of beauty which gave to the mass of clay such graceful forms, and the fertile fancy which adorned the surface of the vase with mythic representations, were the special privilege of the Hellenic race.

There is, moreover, another point of view in which we must regard these miscellaneous antiquities; they are historical materials, supplying us with a thousand details of the manners and customs and social condition of the Greeks, which the historians of antiquity have omitted to record, and which are yet precisely the points respecting which modern research is most curious and most indefatigable.

The collection of miscellaneous antiquities at the British Museum should thus be examined in relation to the scenes of domestic life on the vase-pictures. These two classes of antiquities will illustrate each other in many ways, particularly when the juxtaposition is

immediate: the vase-picture, for instance, will show us how a sword or any other piece of armour was worn and used; in the adjoining collection at the British Museum we may find the sword itself. So, if we turn to a well-known work, "Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities," and examine the illustrations by which any article is explained, we shall find that the woodcut of the object itself is constantly accompanied by an engraving of some scene from a vase-picture or relief, whereby its use may be demonstrated.

In the Museo Borbonico at Naples this kind of illustration may be seen on a great scale, because there we have the opportunity of studying the vast collection of bronzes and other antiquities in relation to the mural paintings from Pompeii and Herculaneum.

After this rapid survey of Greek antiquities, it remains for me to notice the Roman collection in the British Museum. This collection is far inferior in extent and interest to the Greek; it consists of sculptures, bronzes, terracottas, coins, inscriptions, pottery, glass, and a variety of miscellaneous antiquities. Roman art being a kind of offshoot from Hellenic art, and the deities of both countries being for the most part the same, we find the Greek myth repeated everywhere on the reliefs of Roman sarcophagi, on coins, on lamps, on every surface which admitted of such decoration, just as in Augustan and later Roman writers we have a repetition of the subjects celebrated in the earlier epic and dramatic poetry.

But the monuments of the Roman period supply most valuable evidence for the later history of classical art, enabling us to trace its decline, step by step, down

to the period of its utter decay, in the fourth century of our era, and supplying us with many links in that continuous chain of tradition which connects Hellenic and Christian art, and traverses the vast interval of time between Pheidias and Raphael.

The observations which I have already made with regard to Greek coins apply for the most part to the Roman series. Not so deserving of our admiration as works of art, they are historically of even greater value than Greek coins, because they present to us a kind of pictorial chronicle of the chief events of each emperor's reign. Moreover, it is from the inscriptions on coins that we are enabled to identify the statues and busts of emperors and other Roman personages ; they are a most valuable illustration of a gallery of Roman sculpture.

I have now passed in review the antiquities of four great races : the Egyptians, the Assyrians, Greeks, and Romans. I have endeavoured to show that in the case of each race the historical and æsthetic interest of their antiquities may be best appreciated by arranging the whole of these objects in one collection, not by dispersing and subdividing them.

If I have succeeded in establishing this position, it seems to me to follow from it as a necessary consequence that the antiquities of the several races ought to be kept together in one museum ; that, if we are not to form separate museums of Sculpture, Inscribed Monuments, Coins, Vases, etc., so in like manner it is not desirable to parcel out the collections of different races into separate museums, but rather to have one museum for the reception of the antiquities of all races.

By placing the Egyptian, the Assyrian, Greek, and

Roman collections under the same roof, and in immediate juxtaposition, we give to the student of art and to the student of general history the opportunity of exercising the eye in large and suggestive comparisons.

It must be remembered that in the study of general history, if we have, on the one hand, to trace the tradition of institutions and arts, and to prove how they have been handed down from one race to another; on the other hand, in cases where no such derivation can have taken place, we have to observe, and to speculate on the singular coincidences and contrasts which are to be met with in comparing the inventions and works of different nations.

A museum of antiquities, not of one people or period only, but of all races and of all time, exhibits a vast comparative scheme of the material productions of man.

We are thus enabled to follow the progress of the fine and useful arts contemporaneously through a long period of time, tracking their several lines backwards till they converge to the one vanishing point of an unknown past.

Contrasts so marked as that between the Assyrian and Egyptian styles of sculpture cannot fail to strike the eye, and suggest to the mind the inquiry how far these external and visible differences have their origin in essential differences of national character, and are to be taken as evidence thereof. Resemblances so clear as can be traced between some of the earliest specimens of Greek art and the smaller antiquities discovered by Mr. Layard at Nimroud, throw an entirely new light on the relations between Assyria and the Phœnician and the Hellenic

races in ages too remote for our present system of chronology.

The likeness in style between the Assyrian cylinders and clay seals and some of the archaic Greek coins, suggests an Oriental origin for the whole art of coinage; while the supposition, long since entertained, that the designs on the earliest Greek vases were borrowed from the rich embroideries and inlaid art of the Assyrians, receives much confirmation from the general character of the compositions on the Nimroud friezes and other works discovered on the same spot.

Again, the hieroglyphics carved on the ivory panels found by Mr. Layard show a relation between Egypt and Assyria, of which history has left us no direct record.

I will not multiply examples of cases in which unexpected historical relations have been thus disclosed by juxtaposition and comparison of antiquities, because it is not my object here to write a defence of Archæology itself, but to recommend that in the arrangement of a National Museum a particular principle be carried out.

Throughout my letter I have endeavoured to show the great advantages of juxtaposition; but these advantages cannot be demonstrated by mere words; they must be learnt by the eye.

The truth of the foregoing remarks respecting the collections in the British Museum, and the reality of the relations thus alleged to exist between the several branches of antiquities, must be tested by a visit to the Museum itself, and by the careful examination of the several classes of objects which it contains.

It may be said that the tone of this letter is somewhat dogmatical, but the assertions which I have made

are to me convictions, the result of long and patient labour.

Those who have gone through the course of training which is necessary to enable the eye and the mind to appreciate art properly, those whom the research of years has made familiar with the museums of Europe, and with the works of the most distinguished writers on Archæology, will, I trust, allow that the simple facts to which I have had to appeal are not here exaggerated or distorted.

But it may be said that I have dwelt too exclusively on archæological considerations; that the question before the Committee of the House of Commons at this moment is the formation of a Museum of Art, by which the taste of the English people may be educated and elevated, not the arrangement of materials for the use of the historian and the scholar; that the accumulation of collections distracts the eye and confuses the uninformed judgment by the simultaneous exhibition of heterogeneous objects and styles of art; that archæological research and æsthetic culture do not go well together; and that it is better to make a kind of *florilegium*, or selection of specimens for a museum of art, so as to separate the beautiful from that which, being simply curious, is fit only to be studied through the spectacles of the antiquary.

To such arguments as these, I would reply that we cannot appreciate art æsthetically unless we first learn to interpret its meaning and motive, and in order to do this we must study it historically; that if a series of specimens be arranged in schools and periods, according to the time and place of their production, the merit of

the more beautiful works of art will be enhanced, not diminished, by contrast and comparison with the rest; that the art of schools and races being, like the life of individuals, subject to a certain law of growth, maturity, and decay, we should do well to pursue its history through the whole series of extant specimens, commencing with the earliest. We should thus see how perfection in art is the result of a long series of previous trials and failures; how the climax of success has never been reached *per saltum*, but is rather the legacy of many generations of artists; with what rapidity after this culminating point has been attained the first symptoms of decline begin to show themselves.

If the sculptures of the Parthenon were presented to us completely isolated and detached from the rest of the monuments of art which remain to us from antiquity; did we not know the fact that Greek sculpture passed through a long course of transitions and preparatory stages before it attained perfection in the hands of Pheidias; that he did not create art by miracle, but that he had the genius to surpass the utmost efforts of his predecessors; if, I repeat, the sculptures of the Parthenon were presented to us without this preliminary knowledge, would the lesson they would then convey be more instructive to the people generally, and more encouraging to the young artist, than if they were exhibited in connection with the whole development of Greek art?

Museums should not merely charm and astonish the eye by the exhibition of marvels of art; they should, by the method of their arrangement, suggest to the mind the causes of such phenomena. In our admiration of

the sculpture of Pheidias, or of the paintings of Raphael, we should not forget what these great masters owed to their predecessors; we should turn from the contemplation of their immortal works with a fresh and lively interest to the study of the earlier schools, out of which such excellence was slowly developed.

In reply to the objections which may be raised against the combination of works of art and of historical antiquities in the same museum, it may be observed that museums are designed for the instruction and recreation, first, of the general public; secondly, of the artist by profession and of the student of art; and thirdly, of the archæologist and historian.

Why should not all these classes meet on common ground? in what respect do they hinder each other's study and enjoyment?

If the statements in this letter be true, I have shown that a collection of antiquities, such as that in the British Museum, presents an interest so varied that there is hardly any class of spectators that may not find there instruction and recreation. Why break up and disperse these vast stores of historical materials? why destroy the breadth and unity of this impressive picture, in which the nations of the ancient world are grouped together in one great historical composition, and long intervals of time and space so abridged and foreshortened, that the mind embraces the whole complicated perspective readily and without fatigue? It may be said that juxtaposition is a relative term, that, if so many and so manifest relations may be perceived between different classes of antiquities, these antiquities might be as conveniently compared if distributed in separate museums

as if all under one roof. This is not the case; the comparison of objects in contiguous compartments or galleries is a very different thing from that strain on the mind which takes place when we attempt to transport, in our memories, through the thoroughfares of a crowded city, those fine shades of distinction on which classification mainly depends. The trained student of art can with difficulty do this, even with the help of elaborate drawings and notes; the general public would doubtless, in passing from one museum to another, endeavour to institute comparisons; but these comparisons, appealing to recollections already half obliterated, would be partial and inexact; the public would cease to observe resemblances no longer forced on the attention; their minds would be less accessible to those ennobling impressions which are suggested, even to the most careless observer, when, by the felicitous combination of the monuments of many races, a vast scheme of historical relations is suddenly disclosed and demonstrated.

In antiquities, as in the phenomena of nature, are many truths which may be readily perceived by the eye, and which thousands might discover for themselves, but practically these truths are never made apparent to the careless senses of the multitude till they have been previously arranged by the hand of science in the order most suitable for demonstration.

Were the results of the labours of Cuvier and other illustrious minds to be cancelled and obliterated; were the many series of specimens in our museums of Natural History dispersed and scattered to the winds; the science of comparative anatomy would indeed exist as heretofore, but would no longer admit of popular demonstration;

it would be *latent* instead of *patent* truth. In like manner, if adopting an arbitrary and uncalled-for system, and setting aside the principles of arrangement which have been so long recognised in the older establishments of the Continent, we break up those collections of antiquities which are the fruit of much learning, taste, and well-directed labour, and which have been brought together by a combination of favouring circumstances such as may not recur, we shall arrest the progress of historical inquiry, which we had an opportunity of accelerating, and those materials which might have been converted into an instrument of sound and popular teaching will be again consigned to that pristine state of chaos from which the patient industry of archæologists was gradually drawing them forth.

GREEK SCULPTURES FROM THE WEST COAST OF ASIA MINOR,

IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.*

I.

Since the year 1840, the sites of a number of Greek cities on the west coast of Asia Minor and in the Turkish islands of the Archipelago have been explored, chiefly through English and French enterprise. It is not my purpose here to give a history of these expeditions, but to draw attention to their results, to show how much they have added to our knowledge of Greek art. To make this clear, I shall arrange the objects discovered, not geographically, but according to their presumed dates. It is convenient to conceive of Greek art as divided into the following succession of periods: The Archaic period, ending a little after the close of the Persian war, B.C. 450; the period of finest art, including the schools of Pheidias and Praxiteles, which may be considered as ranging between B.C. 450 and the death of Alexander the Great, B.C. 324; and the Macedonian period, ex-

* "The Portfolio," Nos. 54, 55.

tending from this last date to the accession of Augustus, after which the Greek artist became the hireling of his Roman conqueror.

Now, in regard to the first of these periods, the harvest has been very considerable. Before the year 1840 our knowledge of archaic sculpture was almost limited to a few specimens in Italian museums, most of which are rather *hieratic* than *archaic*; that is to say, conventional reproductions of the archaic, executed at a much later period. It is in the sculptures of Athens and from the west coast of Asia Minor and the islands that we can best study the true archaic.

The first Greek sculptors, according to Pliny, who attained eminence by working in marble, were two Kretans, Dipœnos and Skyllis, whose date he gives as about B.C. 580. It is in this same period that we must place the Samian artists Rhœkos, Theodoros and Telekles. Rhœkos is said to have invented the art of casting statues in bronze and iron; he was also an architect, and built the Heraion at Samos, which Herodotus considered the largest Greek temple of his time; and he took part in the building of the Lemnian labyrinth. There was in the Temple of Diana at Ephesos, in the time of Pausanias, a bronze statue representing Night (perhaps Leto, the mother of Artemis), which was believed to be the work of Rhœkos. Theodoros, if we are to believe all that is attributed to him by later authors, must have been a very Michael Angelo for versatility. He assisted Rhœkos in constructing the Lemnian labyrinth; and it was he who is said to have advised the laying down a layer of charcoal, covered with fleeces, under the foundations of the Temple of Diana at Ephesos. He is

said to have made his statues according to a fixed canon of proportions, so that when he and Telekles made a statue of the Pythian Apollo for the Samians, the one half of the statue made by Telekles in Samos was found to tally exactly with the other half made by Theodoros in Ephesos. He was great as a worker in metal, and made for Crœsus the silver *krater* which he dedicated at Delphi. He also excelled in gem engraving, and the celebrated ring of Polykrates is attributed to his cunning hand. Now, whether these varied excellences were combined in one man, or whether, as seems more probable, there was an elder Theodoros, the son of Rhœkos and the architect of the Heraion, and a younger Theodoros, who excelled in statuary in bronze, we shall not stop here to inquire. The traditions about the family of Theodoros suffice to prove that they represent a school of sculptors and architects of great eminence, who were employed on various public works, and especially on the west coast of Asia Minor, between B.C. 650 and 550.[1]

The two places where we might reasonably hope to find traces of the Samian school of sculptors are Ephesos and Miletos, which, before the Persian war, ranked as the two most important cities of Ionia. At Branchidæ, near Miletos, are the ruins of a celebrated temple of Apollo, which was connected with the port on the north by a Sacred Way, flanked on each side by a row of statues. In 1858 I removed from this way ten statues, a lion, a Sphinx, and a very ancient dedicatory inscription, which were all found on the sides of the ancient road, and probably not far from their original position. These sculptures, now to be seen in the Archaic

Room at the British Museum, are described and engraved in my "History of Discoveries." The statues are all seated in chairs; with two exceptions they represent male figures. An inscription on the chair of one of them tells us whom the marble commemorates—"I am Chares, son of Klesis, ruler of Teichiousa: an offering to Apollo." On the chair of another statue is part of the name of the sculptor. On the side of the lion is an inscription in five lines, stating that certain persons, probably citizens of Miletos, "dedicated those statues as a tenth to Apollo." These figures are all draped in a *chiton*, or tunic, falling to the feet, and with sleeves as far as the elbows, over which is a mantle wound round the body. Down the outside of the sleeves runs a seam ornamented with the Mæander pattern. The folds of the drapery are kept very flat, and arranged in parallel lines, showing little or nothing of the forms underneath, except in the sleeves, through which the outline of the upper arm is marked with more skill and knowledge than the general treatment would lead us to expect. The modelling of the figures is very imperfectly carried out. The limbs do not stand out free, but seem welded into the mass of marble out of which they are carved; the feet are placed close together on the same line; the hands rest on the thighs, the palms downwards, and with no sign of flexibility in the finger-joints. The type is characterised by the squareness and width of the shoulders; the general proportions are fairly calculated. Only one of these statues has preserved its head, and this is so mutilated that the features are hardly distinguishable, but we see the same symmetrical treatment of the hair as in the heads on early Greek coins. The

long parallel tresses are divided by horizontal lines into equal spaces, which rudely represent the succession of waves in the hair. There are many curious details about these figures, such as the structure and ornaments of the chairs and cushions, which resemble the ornaments of couches in early Greek vase pictures. It is evident that all these accessories were brought out with colour, the use of which would also in some measure atone for the flat treatment of the drapery, which has nowhere sufficient variety of plane to give due discrimination of surface.

These sculptures have a peculiar value from the fact that they bear inscriptions. On palæographical grounds, into which I shall not enter here, I have assigned these statues to a date ranging from B.C. 580 to 540, so that they may have been already in position on each side of the Sacred Way at Branchidæ when Crœsus sent his envoys to consult the oracle there before going to war with Cyrus. This date has been accepted by Kirchoff in his work on the Greek Alphabet.[2] In the recent excavations by MM. Rayet and Thomas on the Akropolis at Miletos, two seated statues, very similar in style but on a smaller scale, have been brought to light, and may now be seen in the Louvre.

Among the marbles discovered by Mr. Wood in the Temple of Diana at Ephesos were certain fragments of archaic sculpture, which are evidently works executed in the same school as the sculptures from Branchidæ. They consist of a female head, on which the remains of colour still remain, part of two other heads, and portions of the bodies of several draped female figures under life-size. All these sculptures have been attached as decorations to a marble background ; the figures are not, therefore,

sculptured in the round, but, if we may borrow a term used by architects, are *engaged* figures. Now, when we compare the statues from Branchidæ and Miletos with the Ephesian fragments we find a resemblance sufficiently strong to justify us in supposing that the sculptures from both localities are the product of the same school; and when we take into consideration the connexion of Theodoros and Telekles with Ephesos, which has been already noticed, we can hardly doubt that we have in these most ancient sculptures in marble works of the Samian school, to which that family belongs. To the same school and period may be referred the interesting little fragment from Samothrace in the Louvre, in which Agamemnon, Talthybios, and Epeios, the inventor of the wooden horse, are represented in relief, their names being inscribed in early Greek characters, similar to those which we find on the Branchidæ figures.[3] In the Room of Archaic Sculpture at the British Museum are two heads, one from Ægina, the other from Kalymna, sculptured in the round in the same early style.

The discoveries recently made at Cyprus, by General Cesnola and Mr. Lang, have greatly added to our knowledge of the Archaic period of the Greek art. In that island, inhabited by a mixed population, and subjected in turn to Egyptian, Assyrian, Phœnician, and Persian influence, we find a series of sculptures in calcareous stone, some of which are direct imitations of Egyptian statues, others have much of the peculiar mannerism of Assyrian art, while the style of others again reminds us so closely of the sculptures from Branchidæ and Ephesos which we have been describing, that they may be referred with probability to the same school and period.

An interesting series of these Cyprian sculptures may be seen at the end of the Egyptian Gallery.[4]

It is worth while to compare some of the heads in this series with those from Branchidæ and Ephesos already noticed. The nose is generally sharp-pointed, though in one of the Ephesian heads it is unusually broad and flat at the end. The mouth has the stereotyped smile characteristic of Greek archaic art, the corners having an upward tendency; the angle at which the eyes and eyebrows are set in relation to the nose varies, but the outer corner of the eye is generally higher than agrees with our idea of symmetry. In all these examples, and especially in the Ephesian heads, the eye appears rather as if seen through a slit in the skin than as if set within the guard of highly sensitive and mobile lids. The same want of knowledge which in the seated figures from Branchidæ has failed to disconnect the bodies from the chairs, has in the treatment of the eye been unable to express its free movement and to detach it from the lids. In one of the Ephesian heads the eyelids are so little marked that it is quite certain that they must have been suggested by the aid of colour. When we compare the treatment of the face in the earlier Egyptian sculpture, as, for instance, in the colossal head of Rameses II., we see far truer and more skilful modelling of the eye and eyelid, and of the mouth.

The use of calcareous stone for sculpture must have preceded that of marble in the Hellenic world. I have already noted that, according to Pliny, the first artists who attained eminence as workers in the nobler material were Dipœnos and Skyllis—certain sculptors whom he places about B.C. 580, a date which accords

sufficiently with that here assigned to the statues from Branchidæ.

Next in order of time may be placed the reliefs of the celebrated Harpy Tomb, brought from Xanthos by Sir C. Fellows, and now in the Room of Archaic Sculpture. On each of the four sides of this monument is a seated figure, receiving offerings from male or female figures, and at each of the angles a Harpy carrying off a young girl. Though the general treatment resembles that of the Branchidæ and Ephesian sculptures, the figures show a great advance in the modelling, and the draperies are more artistically composed; and we may trace in the whole composition more of the spirit of the early Athenian art, of which some casts may be seen in the same Room.

From the Akropolis at Xanthos were also obtained the remains of two very interesting friezes; one of these, representing beasts of prey chasing boars and stags, is full of vigorous and spirited action. In Lycian as in Assyrian art the modelling of the animals is superior to that of the human figure at the same period. The other frieze, representing a procession of figures on horseback and on foot, may be ascribed to a much later period than the Branchidæ figures. It should be compared with the interesting reliefs from Thasos in the Louvre, discovered some years ago by M. Miller, the date of which, judging from the inscriptions, is probably not earlier than B.C. 460.[5]

In the lowest stratum of Mr. Wood's excavations at Ephesos he found upwards of a hundred fragments of a frieze, which, so far as we can at present judge, appear to be similar in style to the Xanthian and Thasian

reliefs, and which may therefore be referred with probability to the period when the Temple of Diana, begun by Chersiphron about B.C. 580, was completed by Demetrios and Pœonios. Their date was probably about B.C. 460. I think it not improbable that these Ephesian fragments may be part of the *thrinkos* or cornice, in the Hieron of Artemis, on which, according to Pausanias, stood the statue called by the Ephesians Night, to which I have already alluded, and which probably represented Leto, the mother of Artemis, the Ephesian goddess.

The progress of sculpture in the round from the Branchidæ statues to the perfect art of Pheidias may be traced through a series of transition specimens, which it would take too long to enumerate here. I will only refer to the casts from the pedimental compositions from Ægina in the Phygalian Room, and to the casts of the series of metopes from Selinus in the Room of Archaic Sculpture. In this room may also be seen two small statues of Apollo, one of which, said to have been found in the island of Anaphe,[6] was formerly in Lord Strangford's collection. Both these exhibit in a remarkable degree the shortcomings of the early sculptor struggling to emancipate his art from hieratic stiffness and conventionality, but only attaining to a meagre and painful rendering of nature.

II.

In my preceding memoir I had to notice a series of remains of Greek art belonging to the Archaic period, the latest of which may with probability be referred to the generation immediately subsequent to the Persian war, or about B.C. 460. I have now to deal with examples of the art of the subsequent period; and as I limit these memoirs for the most part to the illustration of sculpture from the west coast of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands, I shall here merely allude in passing to the great cardinal example of the art of Pheidias, the remains of the Parthenon in the Elgin Room, the contemporary sculptures from the Temple of Apollo Epikourios in the Phigalian Room, and the frieze of the Temple of Wingless Victory in the Elgin Room. I am not aware that any sculptures have been found in Asia Minor which can be attributed to the school of Pheidias or of his illustrious contemporaries at Athens. It was hardly to be hoped that we should find in the ruins of the Temple of Diana at Ephesos any fragments of those celebrated statues of Amazons by Pheidias, Polykleitos, and Kresilas, which, according to Pliny, formed the subject of a public competition between these artists; and it is only by the study of certain extant statues, presumed to be Roman copies of these figures, that we can form an idea of the great originals.

At the northern extremity of the Elgin Room is a colossal recumbent lion from a Doric tomb at Knidos, which I would place in the period between Pheidias and the second Athenian school represented by Skopas and

Praxiteles. I assign this date to the lion on the following grounds. The tomb to which the lion belonged was of the class called by the ancients *Polyandrion.* It consisted of a square basement surrounded by a Doric peristyle with engaged columns, and surmounted by a pyramid, on the apex of which was placed the lion as the *epithema,* or crowning ornament. Within the basement was a circular chamber formed like a beehive, with eleven small cells for the reception of bodies. This construction makes it probable that the tomb was a public monument of the class called by the ancients *Polyandrion.* It stood on a lofty promontory, commanding an extensive view seaward, and must have been a conspicuous object to mariners. I have elsewhere[7] suggested that it probably commemorated the naval victory of the Athenian Konon over the Lacedæmonians, which was fought off Knidos B.C. 394. The columns of this tomb have been left unfinished, and this incompleteness is accounted for if we suppose it to have been begun immediately after Konon's victory, when Athenian influence must have preponderated at Knidos, and that its progress was suspended after the peace of Antalkidas, B.C. 387, when Sparta was once more in the ascendent on the coasts of Asia Minor. The lion from Knidos is singularly like in style and proportions to one carried off from Athens by Morosini, and now in the Arsenal at Venice. It is not improbable, therefore, that these two lions are by the same Athenian hand—a conjecture corroborated by the fact that the material of the Knidian lion appears to be Pentelic marble. In scale this is one of the largest Greek lions which has come down to us in a tolerably perfect state; the

Chæroneian lion, which is larger, is unfortunately broken into seven fragments, which remain uncared for on the plain of Chæroneia, just in the condition in which they were discovered by a party of English travellers about fifty years ago, except that the tourist cannot resist the temptation of carving his name on the marble.

Much of the effect of the Knidian lion is impaired by the loss of the fore-paws and under-jaw, still more by his transplantation out of the clear and delicate atmosphere of Asia Minor to the opaque gloom of a London museum. In his original position, overlooking the sea from the summit of a monument about forty feet high, and surrounded on the land side by stern rugged mountain scenery, this lion would have made no adequate impression on the eye, had not the sculptor modelled the form with that severe simplicity, that disdain for all save effective details, which, to the untrained eye, appears to be the shortcoming of a clumsy and ignorant artist. It is not by studying the colossal works of the ancients in museums, or comparing them with the puny marvels of modern Exhibitions, but by trying *their effect in the open air*, that we shall ever penetrate the secrets of their art.

The eyes of the Knidian lion, unlike those of the Chæroneian lion, are only hollow sockets, in which, doubtless, were once inserted vitreous pastes or precious stones. This reminds us of Pliny's story of a monumental lion on a promontory at Cyprus, whose emerald eyes were so bright that he scared away the thunny fish.[8] In the treatment of the mane of the Knidian lion we may discern lingering traces of archaicism retained

for architectural effect as in the lions' heads on the cornice of the Parthenon.

Knidos was a city ennobled by the works of Praxiteles; and though no traces of his celebrated statue of Aphroditè are to be met with there, I discovered at Knidos certain sculptures which I have ventured to attribute to his school. Those sculptures will be found in the little ante-room which separates the Lycian Room from the Mausoleum. They consist of a seated figure of Demeter; a statuette of Persephonè; a youthful female head, perhaps Persephonè; and a number of fragments of arms, hands, and feet of statues, mostly female. In the Phygalian Room is a statue from the same site, inscribed with a dedication to Demeter, and probably representing her priestess. All these sculptures were found within the precinct of a platform bounded on three sides by a terrace wall, and on the fourth by the sheer precipice at the foot of which it was built. A number of inscriptions found with the sculptures showed that this site was set apart for the worship of the Infernal Deities, and especially of Demeter and Persephonè.

The seated statue of Demeter and the statue of the priestess were evidently intended to be placed in niches, as is shown by the unfinished backs of these figures; and it is almost certain that they ornamented two niches in the rocky scarp which bounded this sacred site on the north. See plate 54 in my "History of Discoveries." The Demeter has a veil falling from the head over the shoulders. Her drapery, consisting of a *chiton*, round which is wound a mantle, is composed with that refined simplicity which is the characteristic of the best Athenian school. But it was not the object of the sculptor to

invite the eye to trace out too distinctly the forms under the drapery, as the type of goddess whom he had to represent was that of a matron, whose first bloom of youth was already past. It is on the countenance that the artist has concentrated our attention. And here I must quote the observation made to me by one of the most distinguished German writers on ancient art, Professor H. Brunn, on his first seeing this statue. "At last," he exclaimed, "I have found what I have been looking for all over Europe—the pure Greek conception of the Goddess Demeter, as embodied in sculpture. Up to this time I have only seen Roman translations of this original type." In an interesting memoir, a translation of which is published in the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature," my German friend has developed his ideas about this statue with that fine and subtle criticism which distinguishes the school of Archæology to which he belongs. He remarks how, in the suave and tranquil beauty of this Demeter, the sculptor has sought to idealise the sacred idea of maternity; for the cardinal point on which the whole myth of Demeter turns, the main incident of the legend, is her love for her daughter Persephonè, her grief for the untimely loss, and her joy for the partial recovery of this mystic child.[9]

In the idea of maternity, thus expressed in the type of this goddess, the sculptor of the Knidian Demeter has, by a singular anticipation, thrown into her countenance an expression which, had it been seen by one of the early Italian painters, might have modified the conventional type of the Madonna. It has been truly said that the countenance of this Knidian Demeter is in

expression the most Christian work in ancient sculpture. It is worth while to note that a veiled head, strikingly similar in character, is engraved in the "Recueil d'Antiquités" of Caylus, who states that he had just received it from Rhodes.[10] It is more than a century since Caylus published this work; it is to be feared, therefore, that his head of Demeter has not survived the chances of time. It may, however, still exist in some obscure corner of a French château, and we may some day have the opportunity of confronting it with the Knidian Demeter.

The statue of the priestess is very inferior in interest to the Demeter. It represents an elderly woman looking upwards, as if in adoration. The inscription on the base tells us that it was dedicated "by Nikokleia, wife of Apollophanes, to Demeter, Koura (Persephonè), and the gods associated with Demeter" (an euphemism for Hades and other nether deities). The statuette of Persephonè is an interesting example of what is called Hieratic art, in which an archaic treatment is prolonged for the sake of religious associations. Under this type Persephonè is recognised by the lofty *modius*, or corn-measure, on her head, the attribute of the Chthonian deities; by the pomegranate flower which she holds against her breast in her right hand; and by the peculiar action with which the skirt of her drapery is gathered up in her left hand. These little hieratic figures of Persephonè are frequently found in association with statues of Aphroditè. Those who are curious to trace out the connection of ideas between Aphroditè as the goddess of reproductive energy, and Persephonè as the goddess of that decay which is but the prelude to re-

production, should read the treatise on Venus Proserpina in the "Kleine Schriften" of the late Professor Gerhard.

I have mentioned that with the statues which I have been describing were found a number of fragments, chiefly hands and feet from female figures. I would especially invite the attention of artists to these fragments. There may be discerned in them a richness and flow of line, a *morbidezza* of surface, in which there is no trace of effeminate or pretentious refinement, and which I have seen nowhere else in ancient sculpture except in the Athenian sculpture of the age of Perikles. These qualities appear to me to correspond with what little we know from ancient writers of the school of Praxiteles, and I have therefore felt justified in attributing all the sculpture found in the *temenos* of Demeter at Knidos to that school; in which opinion I was glad to be confirmed by Professor Stark, the author of an elaborate work on the group of Niobe.[11]

I should mention here that, according to the evidence of the inscriptions found with these sculptures, and which must be associated with them, their date would range from B.C. 350 to 300.

Whether these Knidian sculptures really belong to the school of Praxiteles is a question on which future discoveries may throw great light; in the meantime we pass at once from speculation to historical fact when, leaving the little ante-room just described, we enter the Mausoleum Room. In the sculptures from Halikarnassos in this room we have undoubted works of at least two of the five sculptors employed by Artemisia to adorn the sepulchral monument of her husband Mausolos, who died B.C. 353. Here, then, better than anywhere else in

Europe, we may study the characteristics of Skopas, to whom some critics of the Augustan age attributed the group of Niobe, thought by others to be the work of his great contemporary Praxiteles.

In my "History of Discoveries," and also in my "Travels," I have devoted a chapter to the sculptures of the Mausoleum, and much has since been written on the same subject by German critics, ample references to whom will be found in the second volume of that excellent work, the "Geschichte d. Griechischen Plastik," by Overbeck. I will not therefore attempt here to go once more over ground which has been so often traversed. I would rather invite the readers of this memoir to contemplate the sculptures of the Mausoleum with their own eyes, and to try to translate their own impressions into words, instead of studying these noble remains through the medium and in the leading-strings of professional critics.

The marbles in which Artemisia enshrined for all future time her widow's grief, have nothing funereal in their character, if we try them by the Kensal Green standard of what is deemed by us moderns appropriate and adequate as the public expression of genteel and decorous sorrow. These sculptures, on the contrary, like the funeral rites and sepulchral monuments of the Greeks generally, seem intended to divert the mind from the thought of decay and mortality, by presenting to us living forms, ideal in their beauty, exulting in the joyous consciousness of energy; and these forms are so combined that all through the composition, action, however violent, is never overstrained, but is subordinated to an all-pervading and dominant harmony. To the

sculptures of the Mausoleum we may apply the epithet which Propertius applies to the works of Lysippos. He calls them "*animosa signa;*" and in the same spirit I have elsewhere said of these remains of the school of Skopas, that the quality by which they are specially distinguished from the earlier school of Pheidias is that they are more *dramatic.*

I would here draw attention to the interesting statue of a Victory recently brought from Samothrace to France, and now in the Louvre. The bold and original treatment by which the flying folds of the drapery are made to express rapid movement has perhaps never been surpassed in sculpture. In the execution there is a subtle refinement which reminded me of the master hands by whom the statues of the Mausoleum were carved. As Skopas is known to have worked in Samothrace, it is a fair conjecture to attribute this Samothracian Victory to some later artist of his school.[12]

In the same room with the sculptures of the Mausoleum are exhibited a few architectural and sculptured remains from the Temple of Athene Polias at Prienè on the Mæander, a temple which we know to have been erected but a short time after the tomb of Mausolos, as an inscription recording its dedication by Alexander the Great was found in the ruins. There is also reason to believe that its architect was the Pythios to whom Pliny attributes the marble chariot-group which surmounted the pyramid of the Mausoleum.

The sculptures from the temple at Prienè exhibit a strong family likeness to the sculptures which we have just been noticing from the neighbouring city of Halikarnassos. This resemblance is particularly noticeable

in the fragments of a frieze, which probably represented a Gigantomachia, and in a colossal female head with a formal row of regular curls over the forehead, each curl being represented by a conventional spiral. There were also found lying on the floor of the temple, amid the ashes of the timber roof, the calcined and blackened fragments of a colossal arm and hand, which in all probability belonged to the great statue of the goddess Athenè, to whom the temple was dedicated, which is incidentally mentioned by Pausanias as among the *admiranda* which he had seen in Asia Minor.

From the same ruins were rescued the remains of a small draped female figure, remarkable for the severe architectonic composition of the drapery, and a male head, evidently the portrait of some personage of the Macedonian period, which bears some resemblance to one of the kings of Bithynia, but which has not yet been satisfactorily identified. This portrait is remarkable for simplicity of treatment and for realistic force. It is probably one of the very few original portraits by a Greek sculptor anterior to the Augustan age which has come down to us.

Closely connected in date and style with the sculptures from the Mausoleum and Priene are the remains of the Temple of Diana at Ephesos, a part of which is exhibited at the north end of the Elgin Room. As a contribution to the history of Greek architecture, these relics of one of the most celebrated Ionic temples of the ancient world are of transcendent interest. By comparing the architectural remains obtained from the Mausoleum, from the Temple of Athene Polias at Prienè,

from the Temple of Apollo at Branchidæ (recently explored by MM. Rayet and Thomas), and from the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos, we shall be able to trace the development of Ionic architecture in Asia Minor with far greater accuracy than has been hitherto done. While the researches of MM. Rayet and Thomas have led to the startling discovery that the bases of some of the columns of the great Branchidæ temple were richly sculptured with ornaments previously unknown in this architectural combination, Mr. Wood's explorations on the site of the Ephesian Artemision have proved beyond all doubt the correctness of Pliny's much-disputed statement that thirty-six of the columns of the peristyle were *cœlatæ*, "ornamented with sculptures in relief." Portions of several drums thus sculptured in relief have been recovered by Mr. Wood, all unfortunately too much mutilated to enable us to make out what were the subjects of the several compositions which encircled the shafts. In the most perfect fragment, a drum next the base, the figures, six feet high, are carved in low relief, the requisite variety of planes being ingeniously obtained without disturbing the general outline of the shaft by undue projection. Fragments of much bolder reliefs from the *Antæ* were also found by Mr. Wood. We have hardly enough of this sculpture to be able to judge of its merits, but it may be fairly said to be of consummate excellence if we regard it as architectural decoration. It is interesting to compare the colossal lion's head from the cornice of the Ephesian temple with the same feature in the cornices of the Mausoleum and the Prienè temple. These lions' heads would prove, even

if we had no other evidence, what masters the ancients were of architectural effect, and with what judgment the proportions of their ornaments were adjusted to the general scale of their buildings.

It is time to bring to a close this sketch of the results of a series of expeditions to the west coast of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands. The examples which I have noticed carry the history of ancient art as late as the age of Alexander the Great, when the last great school of sculpture flourished under Lysippos. From this period onwards the history of Greek art is very hard to make out, for want of emphatic and well-authenticated examples, as is clearly shown in the ingenious and learned work by Dr. Helbig, "Campanische Wandmalerei." The metope, therefore, from a Doric temple, which Dr. Schliemann discovered at Ilium Novum, and a cast of which may be seen in the Mausoleum Room, is an interesting acquisition; as its date, proved by an inscription found with it, can hardly be earlier than the time of Lysimachos; and would thus probably be about forty years later than the sculptures from the Ephesian Artemision. The subject is the Sun-god in his four-horse chariot, setting forth on his diurnal course. The composition is boldly and picturesquely treated; the effect of light spreading above the horizon is skilfully expressed by the rays which boldly transcend the limits of the architectural frame, just as in the compositions of Pheidias the heads of the figures refuse to be all crowded within the pedimental spaces of the Parthenon. The face of the Sun-god from Ilium Novum reminds us at once of the head of the same deity on the gold and silver coins of

Rhodes, which are probably of the same period as the metope, and of which the type may have been adapted from the celebrated colossal statue of Helios by Chares of Lindos, which stood at the mouth of one of the harbours at Rhodes.

ON GREEK INSCRIPTIONS.*

I.

It is recorded by Suetonius that, when the Emperor Vespasian rebuilt the edifices on the Capitol which had been destroyed by fire, he collected three thousand tablets of bronze, on which were inscribed all the public acts and documents of the Roman State then extant. Those precious archives, which Suetonius justly calls *instrumentum imperii pulcherrimum*, have all vanished, having been for the most part melted down by the barbaric conquerors of Rome, whose mints were perpetually being fed with the spoils of the ancient world. Had a tenth part of these documents been preserved for us, had Livy condescended to study what was extant in his time, and to insert occasionally their texts in his history, as Polybius has given the text of the treaty which the Romans concluded with the Carthaginians in the first year of the Republic, there is no doubt that certain problems of early Roman history would not have presented so many stumbling-blocks which have baffled the ingenuity even of such acute students as Niebuhr and Mommsen.

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* "Contemporary Review," December, 1876.

When we turn from the obscure and enigmatical annals of the Roman Republic to the contemporary history of the Hellenic States, how different is the method of inquiry! The sources which now lie open to the student of Greek history are not merely the texts of the extant Greek and Latin authors, but a vast heterogeneous mass of documents which the patience and acumen of Böckh first reduced to method in his "Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum," and to which, since that work was published in 1839–50, such vast additions have been made that the Academy of Berlin has undertaken the colossal enterprise of publishing a new Corpus.

The number of inscriptions published by Böckh and the editors who succeeded him in the Corpus, amounts to upwards of nine thousand; the number published and unpublished now extant cannot be stated with certainty, but may be reckoned at from twenty thousand to thirty thousand. This great accession is due partly to the increased facilities for visiting the Levant which modern travellers have enjoyed since 1840, and still more to the excavations which have been so systematically and persistently carried on at Athens by the Greeks and Germans, and by a succession of English and French expeditions on the west coast of Asia Minor.

So great has been the harvest which these recent excavations have yielded, that all that was gathered in by the old travellers, from Cyriac of Ancona in the fifteenth century, to Leake and Gell in our own time, are but as gleanings in comparison: the reapers came with the generation which saw the kingdom of Greece established and the barriers broken down which made travelling in Turkey so difficult for Europeans.

Fresh fields of discovery were opened up, as the publication of the new texts was carried on with ceaseless energy, by Böckh, Ross, and Kirchhoff in Germany; by Pittakys, Rangabè, Kumanudes, and other Greek archæologists at Athens, and by Lebas, Waddington, Foucart, and Wescher in France; and the study of these texts developed a school of commentators distinguished for the sagacity and soundness of their conclusions, and for range and variety of learning. The great store of new historical and philological materials thus rendered accessible to the general student has been already worked up into a number of separate treatises. Thus the evidence which inscriptions afford with reference to Athenian finance is embodied in Böckh's great work on the public economy of Athens, in Köhler's "Urkunden des Delisch-Attischen Bundes," and in Kirchhoff's "Urkunden der Schatzmeister." From the combined evidence of coins and inscriptions Mr. Waddington has constructed his admirable "Fastes des Provinces Asiatiques;" and the memoirs of M. Egger on ancient treaties, and of MM. Foucart and Lüders on the religious and dramatic societies in antiquity, are among the most recent and valuable contributions to this branch of Archæology.

Reference to these works will give the general reader some idea of the method by which Greek inscriptions may be applied to the illustration of ancient history; but, if we would appreciate this documentary evidence as it deserves, and measure its range and compass, we must study the texts themselves, as we have been taught to study the classical authors, "nocturna versanda manu, versanda diurna."

But up to the present date too little has been done to make these texts accessible to the general student, who seldom has the time, if he has the patience, to wade through the dry and unpalatable details which form so large a part of the commentaries on inscriptions. What is now wanted is a popular work, giving a classification of Greek inscriptions according to their age, country, and subject, and a selection of texts by way of samples, under each class. In the absence of such a work, I have attempted here to sketch out a rough classification of this vast chaotic mass of ancient documents; and, first, it may be well to define the limits of our subject-matter. If we used the word "inscription" in its widest sense, it would comprehend every extant Greek sentence, word, or character, whether graven, written, or stamped, on whatever material this writing may have been preserved. Such a sweeping definition would include MSS., coins, gems, vases, and other classes of objects which have been for the most part studied as independent branches of Archæology, and which can only claim to be admitted into a Corpus of Greek inscriptions as an appendix. Passing over all notice of such *varia supellex* here, I shall confine my observations to inscriptions on durable materials, such as stone and metal—to inscriptions, in short, of a monumental character, which were for the most part public documents designed to be read by successive generations of men through all time.

This idea of the perpetuity of monumental inscriptions ever present to the mind of the ancient world has been curiously cast into the shade in modern times through the belief that in the printing-press we possess an instrument by which the publication of all worth publishing can

be multiplied to an incalculable extent, and renewed in successive editions as long as it is worthy to be remembered. The ancients had no such self-renewing instrument of publication and record. When any treaty, law, or other public document had to be promulgated, this was done by exhibiting in certain places of public resort authenticated copies, inscribed first on perishable and ultimately on durable materials; and with a view to the perpetual preservation of these inscriptions, they were very generally among the Greeks set up in temples or in public buildings, which afforded every possible guarantee for their safe custody. It is probable that this custom of engraving words on stone or metal began among the Greeks soon after they had become familiar with the alphabet which they borrowed from the Phœnicians. What may have been the date of those very early Greek inscriptions which Herodotos and Pausanias describe as written in Kadmeian characters, and which they believed to have been antecedent to the first Olympiad, is a matter concerning which we have no sure information. Kirchhoff, in his excellent work on the Greek alphabet, assigns what he assumes to be the earliest extant inscriptions to the second half of the seventh century B.C., but it is very possible that we may possess inscriptions of a still earlier date, for, if we compare the Phœnician letters on the celebrated *stelè* of Mesa discovered in Moab a few years ago with the earliest Greek characters, the variation of type is but slight. The date of the Moabite stone is about B.C. 850, and if, as some authorities maintain, the earliest extant Greek inscriptions cannot be assigned to an earlier epoch than B.C. 600, it is certainly singular that an interval of

more than two centuries should not have produced more marked differences in the forms of the letters than can be discerned, when we compare the most archaic type of the Greek alphabet with its Phœnician prototype in the ninth century.[13]

Probably the first application of the newly adapted art was in dedicatory inscriptions or *epigrams*, to use this word in its original sense, and next in the solemn record of treaties such as the inscription on the disk of Iphitos. The necessity of written laws must have been felt at the very dawn of Greek liberty, after the *tyranni* and aristocratic rulers had been superseded by more popular government. Shortly before the Persian War sepulchral inscriptions came into general use, and it was in this class of metrical epigram that Simonides was so celebrated. The tradition that he invented the two long vowels, Η and Ω, probably arose from the fact that these two characters, which we know to have been in use on the west coast of Asia Minor long before the time of the poet, were gradually introduced into European Greece through the popularity of the epigrams which he composed.

The number of extant inscriptions which we can assign to a date earlier than the end of the Persian War is, as might be expected, very small, but among these are several of considerable interest.

In front of the great temple of Abou-Symbul, in Nubia, is a colossal Egyptian statue, on the leg of which is an inscription in archaic Hellenic characters, which records the names of certain Greeks and others who, during the expedition of King Psammetichos to Elephantinè, explored the Upper Nile "as far as they

found the river navigable"—in other words, as far as the second cataract. It may be admitted that the King Psammetichos here mentioned must be either the First or the Second Egyptian monarch of that name, and if, with Kirchhoff and most authorities, we assume that the inscription refers to Psammetichos I., then the Greeks whose names are inscribed on the colossus were some of the mercenaries whom his pay attracted from Ionia, Karia, and the adjacent islands, and the date of this inscription cannot be later than Olymp. 42.2 (B.C. 611), when Necho succeeded Psammetichos; and even if we suppose that the king referred to is the second Psammetichos, it cannot be later than Olymp. 47.4 (B.C. 589), the date of his death. We have, thus, in this inscription at Abou-Symbul a cardinal example of Greek writing as it was used by the Ionian and Dorian settlers in Asia Minor and the islands, about the beginning of the sixth century B.C.; thus, independently of its historical interest as a record of the early explorers of the Upper Nile, it is a document which, for the student of Greek palæography, is of inestimable value; one of the chief corner-stones on which we may construct the history of that ancient alphabet which, with some modifications, we still use.[14]

At Branchidæ, on the west coast of Asia Minor, a little south of the mouth of the Mæander, still remain the majestic ruins of that celebrated temple of Apollo, of which the oracle was consulted by Crœsus, and which was destroyed by the Persians in revenge for the Ionian revolt. Along the Sacred Way leading up to this temple was once an avenue of statues, of which a few headless survivors may be seen in the Room of Archaic Sculpture.

Some of these bear dedicatory inscriptions, the date of which, by comparison with the Abou-Symbul inscription and on other grounds, we may place between B.C. 580 and B.C. 520. The famous Sigean inscription brought from the Troad to England in the last century, is now admitted to be, not a pseudo-archaic imitation, as Böckh maintained, but a genuine specimen of Greek writing in Asia Minór, contemporary, or nearly so, with the Branchidæ inscriptions. Kirchhoff considers it not later than Olymp. 69 (B.C. 504–501).[15]

Very deep under the foundations of the temple of Diana at Ephesos, Mr. Wood found some fragments of inscribed bases of columns which we may refer with confidence to the same period, and which are consequently a relic of that earlier temple to which Crœsus contributed so liberally.[16] The bronze hare brought from Samos by Mr. Cockerell many years ago, on the body of which a dedication to Apollo is inscribed in irregular lines, is another interesting example of archaic Ionian writing which Böckh has, by a singular misconception, attributed to much too late a period; and that the same Ionian characters prevailed in Rhodes, we know, not only from the Abou-Symbul inscription, but also from the dedication on a little dolphin in Egyptian porcelain found at Kameiros, in a tomb of the Græco-Phœnician period.[17]

If, leaving the Asiatic coast, we proceed westward across the Archipelago, we come to some very interesting specimens of Greek writing in the islands of Thera, Melos, Krete, Paros, and Naxos. The earliest of these are to be found in Thera, better known to us by its modern name of Santorin, an island which was

certainly occupied first by the Phœnicians and then by the Greeks at a very early period, even if we do not implicitly accept the date claimed for these settlements on geological evidence which seems to require further sifting. The inscriptions of Thera exhibit an alphabet very much less developed than the one which, as I have shown, prevailed in Ionia in the sixth century, and wants the four double consonants, Ξ, Ψ, Φ, X, which, as we know, the Greeks added to the Phœnician alphabet after borrowing them from some other source.

It is on these grounds that Kirchhoff considers the most archaic of the Santorin inscriptions at least as early as Olymp. 40 (B.C. 620–617), if not earlier. The few archaic inscriptions which Attica, Bœotia, and other States of the mainland of Greece have as yet contributed, are not so remarkable for the interest of their subject as to be worth noticing separately here. Corinth was doubtless one of the places where writing was used at a very remote period, and was thence transmitted, with other arts of the mother State, to her colony, Corcyra. This transmission probably took place not long after the founding of Corcyra, B.C. 734, because two very archaic inscriptions may still be seen at Corfu; one of these is engraved round a circular tomb, which, after having been immured for centuries in the foundations of a Venetian fort, was brought to light when that obsolete defence was demolished in 1845. Both these inscriptions are in hexameter verse. One commemorates the death of a certain Arniadas who fell in a sea-fight off the coast of Epirus. The other tells us that the circular tomb was erected at the public expense to a certain Menekrates, a Lokrian, who was

proxenos, and much beloved by the people, and who perished at sea.

This inscription proves the high antiquity of the office of *proxenos,* concerning which I shall have more to say shortly. We have no certain means of fixing the date of these two inscriptions. Kirchhoff carries them as far back as Olymp. 45 (B.C. 600–597). Franz assigns the one relating to Arniadas to a period ranging from Olymp. 50 to 60 (B.C. 580–540); while the other he inclines to place as low as the beginning of the fourth century B.C.[18]

The most interesting inscription of the archaic period which the Morea has produced is the celebrated bronze tablet which Sir William Gell obtained from Olympia, and on which is engraved a treaty between the Eleans and Heræans. The terms of this specimen of ancient diplomacy are singularly concise and to the purpose. Put into plain English it runs thus:

> The treaty between the Eleans and the Heræans. Let there be an alliance for one hundred years commencing from this year. If there be need of conference or action, let the two States unite both for war and all other matters. Those who will not join shall pay a fine of a silver talent to the Olympian Zeus. If any, whether citizen, magistrate, or deme, destroy what is here inscribed, the offending party shall be subjected to the fine here specified.

Kirchhoff places this inscription about Olymp. 70 (B.C. 500–497). Böckh and Franz assign it to a much earlier date.[19] In any case we may regard this as the oldest extant treaty in the Greek language. The oblong bronze tablet on which it is inscribed has two loops by which it must have been originally fixed on the wall of some temple at Olympia. By this simple expedient, the

substitute for our modern gazettes and blue books, the ancients insured for their public documents notoriety and custody as safe as human forethought could then contrive.

The Hellenic cities in Sicily and Magna Græcia have not as yet yielded many noteworthy inscriptions of the archaic period. One, however, deserves special attention. It is graven on a bronze plate found in Petilia, a Greek city of Bruttium in Southern Italy, and conveys land by a form of deed of admirable simplicity. After the invocation of God and fortune, are the following words: "Saotis gives to Sikainia the house and all the other things." Then follow the names of the chief magistrates of the city and of five *proxeni*, whose signatures of course legalised the deed. This primitive specimen of conveyancing is thought by Franz and Böckh to be not later than B.C. 540.[20]

In the Hippodrome at Constantinople may still be seen the remains of a venerable trophy of the Persian War, the bronze serpent which, with the gold tripod it supported, was dedicated to the Delphic Apollo by the allied Greeks after the victory of Platæa as a tenth of the Persian spoil. On the bronze serpent which served as a base for the tripod the Lacedæmonians inscribed the names of the various Hellenic States who took a part in repelling the barbaric invader. The golden tripod perished long ago in the sacrilegious plunder of Delphi by the Phokians, but the bronze serpent remained in its original position till it was removed by Constantine the Great to decorate, with other spoils of Hellas, his new seat of empire at Byzantium. Here it has remained in the Hippodrome

till our own time, not unscathed, for the last of the three heads of the serpent has long since disappeared, but the list of Greek States inscribed on the intertwined folds of the body remains perfectly legible to this day, having been fortunately preserved from injury by the accumulation of soil in the Hippodrome. This earth concealed about two-thirds of the serpent till the excavation made by me in the Hippodrome in 1855, when the inscription was first brought to light. As the date of the battle of Platæa was B.C. 479, it may be assumed that the setting up of the tripod took place shortly afterwards. Thus the inscription would not be later than B.C. 476.[21] Of hardly inferior interest is the bronze helmet found at Olympia early in this century, which, as its inscription tells us, was part of a trophy dedicated by Hiero I. of Syracuse after his great naval victory over the Tyrrhenians B.C. 474.

The date of these two inscriptions on bronze is so accurately fixed that they may be regarded as cardinal examples in the history of palæography by which the age of several other monuments of the same period may be approximately fixed. The next document I have to mention has a special interest from its connexion with the principal incident in the life of Herodotos, his expulsion from his native Halikarnassos, to escape the tyranny of Lygdamis. This inscription, which I found built into a house at Budrum, and which is now in the British Museum, contains a law, the enactment of which must have been the result of some kind of political convention between Lygdamis on the one hand, and the people of Halikarnassos on the other. The object of this law is to secure certain persons in the possession of

lands and houses, by assigning a term after which their titles could not be disturbed. It is probable that the lands in question had belonged to political exiles, and had on confiscation been purchased by other parties. To guard against the possibility of the repeal of this law, it is enacted that, if any one tries to invalidate it, he is to be sold as a slave, and his goods are to be confiscated to Apollo, the principal deity of Halikarnassos.[22] Another inscription since found at Budrum, and published in the Appendix to this work, seems to relate to the same transaction. In this document the sale of various lands is recorded, together with the names of the purchasers, and the titles of the lands so sold are guaranteed in perpetuity by making Apollo himself and other deities parties to the sale, and chief sureties, or *bebaiotæ*. The date of the first of these two inscriptions is probably about B.C. 445. If we pass from the west coast of Asia Minor to Northern Greece, we find a specimen of a different sort of public document, in the bronze plate which records a treaty between two cities of Lokris, Oianthè and Chaleion.[23] It is stipulated in this document that neither of the parties to the treaty shall enslave the citizens of their ally. It shall be lawful for the citizens of both States to commit piracy anywhere except within their own or their ally's harbours. The date of this inscription is probably not earlier than B.C. 431, and the barbarous character of its enactments about piracy is a confirmation of what we know from other evidence, that the Western Hellenic States outside the Peloponnese did not participate in the general advance in civilisation which took place in the rest of Greece after the Persian War. The dialect

in which this treaty is written is as rude as its enactments.

Tracing the progress of Greek writing downwards, from B.C. 600, we have now arrived at the epoch when Athens becomes the centre of political interest; and most fortunately, from this epoch onwards till the time of Alexander the Great, the series of Athenian records on marble is singularly full and instructive. Some of these are still inscribed on the walls of the Parthenon; others have been put together out of many fragments extracted from the mediæval and Turkish buildings on the Akropolis, or from excavations at Athens and the Piræus.

Of the public records preserved in these inscriptions, the following are the most important classes—the Tribute lists, the Treasure lists, and the public accounts. The first of these classes contains a register of the Greek allies and dependencies from whom Athens exacted tribute, under the pretext of maintaining a sufficient naval force to protect them against the Persian king. These records, so far as they have yet been recovered, range from B.C. 454, when the Delian confederacy transferred its treasury to Athens, to B.C. 420, and contain lists of the Athenian tributaries, the quotas at which they are assessed being placed opposite their names. In the registers the tributaries are arranged in classes, according to their geographical and political relations. Generally the rate is levied on single States; sometimes several neighbouring cities are included in one common group for assessment. In the greater part of these registers the quotas levied are so small that they evidently do not represent the amount of tribute actually

paid, but that portion of it which was appropriated as an *anathema*, or offering to Athenè herself, as the goddess of the ruling State. This quota was in the proportion of a *mina* for every talent of tribute ; or, in other words, it was a sixtieth of every talent. There is, however, one of these inscriptions which differs altogether from the rest, and which Köhler has put together, with wonderful patience and ingenuity, out of many fragments. This contains an assessment of the tribute itself, made B.C. 425, at which time, according to the Orators, the tribute was doubled, it is said by the advice of Alkibiades. This statement has been doubted by Grote because it is unnoticed by Thukydides, but it is in the main corroborated by the evidence of the inscription already referred to.[24]

The measures taken by the Athenians for the scrutiny and record of the public accounts show the same methodical care and vigilance which they exercised in the custody of the treasures of the State. Specimens of the laws regulating these accounts, as well as the accounts themselves, are given in the inscriptions published in the second volume of Böckh's "Public Economy of Athens." It is to be regretted that the fragmentary condition of these renders it very difficult to make out the system adopted in keeping these accounts. It seems certain that bills were drawn on the Athenian treasury by generals on foreign service ; and, in accounting for the produce of these bills, the rate of exchange in the place where they were negotiated would have to be allowed for before a final balance between receipts and expenditure could be struck. Again, much foreign money was received into the Athenian treasury

through the payment of tribute, or through other transactions with foreign States; and in the public accounts this money would have to be converted into its countervalue in Athenian drachmæ. The profit or loss on exchange in each of these cases would form an item in the account.[25] The navy with which Athens had to maintain her powerful maritime supremacy necessarily involved a constant outlay in the building and fitting out of ships of war, and by a happy chance we possess a few relics of the ledgers and registers of the Board of Admiralty by which the dockyards and arsenal at the Piræus were administered. In other words, we possess a number of fragments of inscriptions relating to the state of the navy in the latter half of the fourth century B.C., which have been published by Böckh in the third volume of his "Public Economy of Athens." Nearly all these marbles are fragments of inventories, similar in character to the Treasure-lists, and forming an exact and minute register of the ships and stores handed over from one Board of Admiralty to their successors. In these curious returns are entered the name of each ship and of its builder, and its actual state of completeness or deficiency in respect to masts, spars, rigging, anchors, cables, etc. Ships or gear found to be unfit for service are condemned, and the proceeds of their sale are noted. The fitting out of war-ships was one of the public burthens, *leitourgiæ*, imposed on the richer Athenian citizens. We learn from one of these inscriptions[26] that, on one occasion, to encourage promptitude in the discharge of this duty, special honours were decreed to those who soonest fitted out a trireme; a gold crown of the value of 500 drachmæ (about £20)

was the first, a crown of inferior value the second prize, and so on. On the other hand, all defaulters who owe money to the State on account of ships are duly noted. The date of these documents ranges from B.C. 373 to 322.

From the Athenian Board of Admiralty we will pass to their Office of Works. Of the archives of this Board we possess only three documents sufficiently complete to be worth noticing here, but these three are of very high interest. There is, first, the survey of the Erechtheion, made by a special commission, who were appointed by a decree of the people, B.C. 409, and while the temple was still building. In this elaborate report, which may be likened to a Blue-book such as a modern Parliamentary Commission draws up in pursuance of an order from the House of Commons, the exact state in which the building is found by the surveyors is noted with a minuteness which could have left no room for future subterfuge or procrastination, for every block of marble which carries any ornament is specified as either finished and in position, or as partially finished and not yet in its place on the building. In close connexion with this survey we must take the fragments of another inscription, which records, item by item, the expenses of building the Erechtheion. This document is of peculiar interest to the student of ancient art, because it contains a statement of the sums actually paid for the sculptural decorations of the Erechtheion, with the names of the artists by whom they were executed. These sculptors, none of whose names are otherwise known to us, were evidently employed under the direction of the architect to execute certain figures and groups in a continuous composition, designed by some master hand. We can

hardly doubt that this composition was the frieze mentioned in the survey as having a background of dark Eleusinian marble, and of which the fragments were discovered on the Akropolis some years ago, and were first recognised as belonging to the Erechtheion by Rangabè. The prices paid to the artists for the several figures are certainly not high, if we assume that the charge entered in each case represents the sum due. The prices range from 120 drachmæ (rather less than £5) downward to 60 drachmæ. A group in which a young man was represented driving two horses, cost 240 drachmæ. It must be borne in mind that the figures in this frieze were only two feet in height, and that being attached to the background they are not sculptured in the round. It would be interesting to compare the prices paid for sculpture in this account with the prices paid by Messrs. Armistead and Philip to the skilful hands who carved the frieze round the Albert Memorial.

Many other curious entries will be found in this record. Two talents' weight of lead, for fixing the sculptures, cost ten drachmæ. The cost of fluting one of the columns of the temple, as calculated by Rangabè from the entries, was 400 drachmæ. This work of fluting was executed by small gangs of workmen not exceeding seven in number, and hence may have been piece-work.[27]

The third architectural document which I have to notice here is a contract for repairing and strengthening the Long Walls which connected Athens with the Piræus. The date of this contract is fixed by Rangabè to the administration of Lykurgos, B.C. 334–330. At

Lebadea in Bœotia has been recently found an inscription containing a contract for the rebuilding of a temple of Zeus. The precision and minuteness of the specifications are not unworthy of the attention of modern Boards of Works.[23]

The lists of the treasure which, from the time of Perikles to the downfall of Athenian supremacy, was stored up in the Parthenon and the other temples on the Akropolis, are among the most complete and curious documents which have been handed down to us on Greek marble.

The treasure in the Parthenon itself, which was deposited there immediately after its completion (B.C. 438), and which was called the treasure sacred to Athenè, was composed of various precious objects dedicated by States or individuals: the tenth of the spoils of war; the money accruing from sacred lands; and lastly the balance of the income of the State not required for current expenses, and which was kept as a reserve fund only, to be drawn upon for some special necessity. A board of ten treasurers, appointed by lot yearly from the wealthiest class, took charge of this sacred deposit; and it was their duty on going out of office every year to take stock of the treasure, and to hand it to their successors as per inventory. Every fifth year at the great Panathenaic festival, the registers of the four preceding years were inscribed on marble *stelæ*, the series of which is nearly complete from B.C. 434 to the downfall of Athens, B.C. 404. The inventories specify a great variety of precious objects, adding the weight in every case where it could be ascertained. As we read through this list of statues, crowns, cups, lamps, necklaces, bracelets, rings,

and other ornaments, all of gold or silver, and many of them, doubtless, exquisitely fashioned, and remember that these beautiful objects, once so jealously guarded, have all long since vanished in the crucible, we may learn to set greater store on the few specimens of Greek jewellery which have been rescued from destruction by the happy accident that they were deposited, not in temples under the immediate protection of tutelary deities, but in the dark and silent tomb under no other guardianship than that of the dead. After the anarchy at the close of the Peloponnesian War, the treasures from the temples of the other Attic deities, which had originally been kept apart, were also deposited in the Parthenon. Of these registers we have unfortunately only a few fragments, which belong to the period after the Peloponnesian War.[29]

The silver mines of Laurion furnished one of the principal sources of Athenian revenue. These were leased by the State to individuals on certain conditions defined in documents called *diagraphai metallôn*. The character of these ancient leases is shown in two fragments of inscriptions, in which the boundaries of the portion of mine leased are minutely stated.[30]

Considering the long maritime ascendency of Athens, and the multitude and complexity of her relations with other States, it is disappointing to find how small a proportion of the extant Attic inscriptions have reference to the foreign affairs of the great republic. How valuable such inscribed documents would have been to the historian may be inferred from the few texts of treaties and other diplomatic records which have been preserved in Thukydides and the Orators. Among the few extant

inscriptions of this class the following may be here mentioned as especially worthy of notice. In the recent excavations which have been made at Athens at the foot of the Akropolis on its southern side, an inscription has been found, which tells us in explicit terms what were the conditions imposed by Athens on her tributaries in the most powerful period of her empire. It records the terms of a convention to be concluded between the Athenians and Chalkidians of Eubœa shortly after Perikles had reduced that island to submission, B.C. 445. The treaty consists of two parts: in the first part the senate and people of Athens swear not to expel the Chalkidians from Chalkis, nor to subvert their city, nor to molest or injure any citizen of Chalkis by depriving him of life, liberty, or property, without the proper legal trial, nor to proceed against either the city or any individual without giving them due notice and free access to the Athenian senate and popular assembly. The Chalkidians on their part swear not to revolt against Athens, to denounce all who are disaffected, to pay the tribute, to be their faithful allies. This oath is to be taken by all adult male citizens of Chalkis, and whoever refuses to take it will forfeit his goods, and a tenth of them will be dedicated to the Zeus of Olympia.[31] More than half a century after the date of this convention we have the decree passed in the archonship of Nausinikos (B.C. 378), which shows how entirely the old relations between Athens and her tributaries had been changed. In this decree the republic proclaims a new league, formed with Thebes, Chios, Mitylene, and other States, against Sparta. This formidable league, according to historians, comprised

from seventy to seventy-five States, whom the arrogance of Spartan rule had induced to make common cause with Athens, and the names of fifty-three of these States have been preserved on the marble. Many of these had been former tributaries of Athens, and in that relation had doubtless suffered much from the over-bearing rule of the great maritime republic. Hence the decree offers the strongest guarantees for the protection of the weaker allies. They are to pay no tribute, to be entirely free to choose their own form of government; all land heretofore appropriated either by the Athenian State or by Athenian citizens in any of the territories of the allies is to be absolutely surrendered, and from the date of the treaty all conveyance of such land to Athenian citizens is absolutely prohibited under pain of confiscation. Death or exile, with forfeiture of all rights of citizenship, are to be the penalty for any attempt to abrogate or alter this law.[32]

Among the allies whose names are entered on the back of this marble are two princes of the Molossians, Alketas and Neoptolemos, whose descendant Olympias was the mother of Alexander the Great. We learn from another contemporary Attic decree[33] the special protection accorded by Athens to Arybbas, the brother of Neoptolemos, with whom he appears to have disputed the succession to the throne on the death of Alketas. The alliance of this little kingdom lying almost on the extreme verge of Hellenic civilisation in northern Greece had been cultivated by the Athenians ever since the Peloponnesian War, when the Molossians, under the rule of Tharytas, first appear in Greek history. From the heading of this decree we learn that Arybbas

was victor both in the Olympic and Pythian games. From two mutilated fragments of another Attic decree it is proved that the elder Dionysios of Syracuse was on friendly terms with the Athenians shortly before his death, though in the earlier part of his reign he was the ally of the Lacedæmonians.

The extensive foreign trade of Athens must have caused a number of commercial treaties, regulating the conditions of export and import. Of such treaties we have a curious fragment relating to the export of vermilion, *miltos*, from the island of Keos. In this inscription, which Rangabè assigns to some period between Olymp. 101.1 and 105.3 (B.C. 371 to B.C. 353), it is enacted that all the vermilion exported from Keos must be sent to Athens. This exportation can only be carried on in certain vessels chartered for this service by the Athenian State. The amount of freight is fixed by law, and the penalty of confiscation is imposed for transgression of this law. It is probable that this treaty, which gave the Athenians an absolute monopoly of the article to which it relates, was conceded by the people of Keos when, like the rest of the Cyclades, they were in a state of vassalage under Athenian dominion.[31]

I have now noticed the principal Attic inscriptions from the beginning of the Peloponnesian War to the time of Alexander the Great. The inscriptions in other Greek States in the same period are few in number, and seldom of historical interest. Among the most important are the decrees of the Karian city Mylasa, punishing certain conspirators who had attempted to assassinate Mausolos when attending a solemn festival in a temple

at Labranda; the commercial treaty between Amyntas. I, King of Macedon, and the Chalkidians of Eubœa, regulating the exportation of timber; the alliance between the Erythræans and Hermias, tyrant of Atarneus in Mysia, the friend of Aristotle, in which it is provided that the goods of either of the contracting parties may be deposited in the other's territories, no duty being payable while they are in bond.[35]

After the accession of Alexander the Great the interest of Attic inscriptions diminishes as the political importance of Athens begins to decline; but, if we extend our survey over the Hellenic world generally, it will be found that one class of inscriptions constantly recurs in the cities of European and Asiatic Greece—the honorary decrees—under which class may be placed the grants of *proxenia*. In these documents services either of citizens or strangers are rewarded by a statue, a gold crown, and other honours, or by some more substantial privileges; and in the preamble of the decree the particular public services so rewarded are always specified, and thus we recover here and there precious bits of history which are not found in the meagre and fragmentary chronicles of the Macedonian period. Among the most important of the public services recorded in these decrees are those rendered either by citizens charged with diplomatic missions or by foreign States and individuals who have acted as mediators or arbitrators, or who have otherwise exerted their good offices. The honorary decrees relating to diplomatic envoys must be studied in connexion with another class of documents of which we have unfortunately too few—the letters from kings to

autonomous Greek States, or from one Greek State to another. These tattered pages torn from the blue-books of ancient Hellas are the more valuable because they relate to a period which, from the want of contemporary historians, is very imperfectly known to us. In the letters addressed by Alexander and his successors to Greek cities we have the prototypes of those imperial rescripts which afterwards became an integral part of the Roman civil law.

Some of the letters of Alexander and his successors were edicts, addressed generally to Hellenic States, and couched in the haughty language of irresponsible despotism. Diodoros has preserved two specimens of such royal circulars, the letter from Alexander the Great ordering the return of all Greek exiles to their respective States, and the letter of Philip Arrhidæos relating to the same matter.[36] Equally arbitrary in tone are the two rescripts addressed by Antigonos, shortly after the battle of Ipsos, B.C. 301, to the people of Teos, ordering them to incorporate in their city the entire population of the neighbouring town of Lebedos, whose consent to this wholesale transfer was probably never asked.[37] But other royal letters preserved by inscriptions show that the Diadochi did not always adopt so autocratic a tone in dealing with States which still had the pretension to be autonomous, and were likely to be useful allies. With such independent cities the kings ingratiated themselves by acting as arbitrators in disputes, by dedications and grants of land to celebrated temples and oracles, by embellishing cities with *gymnasia* and other public edifices. In reward for such services they received the honours of equestrian statues, gold

crowns, and sometimes adulation such as the Athenians bestowed on Demetrios Poliorketes.

The cases of arbitration recorded in inscriptions are of two kinds—they either relate to misunderstandings between two Greek States, in which the matter in dispute was referred to a third State, by whose decision both parties agreed to abide; or, again, litigation between citizens of one State was adjudicated by judges appointed by another State, whose impartiality was guaranteed by the fact that they were unconnected with any local interest. That such arbitrations were often successful in private litigation may be inferred from the number of extant decrees in honour of judges appointed with this object. Thus we find the people of Kalymna rewarding with a crown the five judges sent by the people of Iasos for the settlement of much private litigation. Upwards of two hundred and fifty cases were dealt with by this foreign commission, and in the greater part of these a compromise was effected.[38]

Disputes between two States were not so easily settled by arbitration. We learn from an inscription published by Lebas[39] that a dispute between Samos and Prienè as to some territory lasted from the time of Bias of Prienè, in the middle of the sixth century B.C., to the date of the Roman conquest of Asia Minor. The matter in dispute, after having led to a war, was referred for arbitration to the kings Lysimachos and Demetrios and to the Rhodian republic successively. Like many other long-standing contentions, it was finally settled by a decree of the Roman Senate. The whole of the documents relating to this vexed question were engraved on the walls of the temple of Athenè Polias at Prienè,

forming one continuous text, many fragments of which have been recently rescued from destruction by the Society of Dilettanti, and deposited in the British Museum. A very similar series of documents relating to a dispute between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians, in which the Milesians acted as arbitrators, has been recently discovered at Olympia. This was doubtless the affair which, according to Tacitus (Annal. iv. 43), was ultimately referred to the Roman Senate.[40] The good understanding between Greek States must have been much promoted by this habit of appealing to arbitration, and also by the institution of *proxeni*, whose office was in many respects analogous to that of a modern consul. There was, however, this difference, that, whereas the modern consul is for the most part a subject of the State whose citizens he is appointed to protect in a foreign country, and rarely a subject of the State to which he is accredited, the ancient *proxenos* was usually a citizen of the State in which he exercised his consular functions. The interests of Athenian citizens would for instance be protected in Ephesos, not by an Athenian resident there, but by a citizen of Ephesos whom the Athenian people appointed their *proxenos*, granting him certain privileges and immunities in recompense for his services. The duties of the *proxenos* were partly diplomatic and partly consular; the citizens of the State by which he was appointed could always claim his hospitality, his protection, and his general good offices in legal proceedings. He ransomed prisoners in war, provided a suitable interment for those slain in battle, and, in case of a demise, administered the estate and transmitted the effects to the heirs.

Thus far the duties of the *proxenos* corresponded with those of an ordinary modern consul. But his diplomatic functions were of a higher character, approximating to those of a modern ambassador. It was his duty to present to the authorities and public assembly of his native city the envoys who were sent from time to time from the State which had made him their *proxenos*, and to promote the objects of such missions by his personal influence with his fellow-citizens. In Greek cities the inns were generally indifferent, and the claims on the hospitality of the *proxenos* must have entailed heavy and constant expense, while from the nature of his office he must have been constantly obliged to advance money on account of distressed travellers, much of which was probably repaid at the Greek Kalends. But, as a set-off against these expenses and liabilities, the *proxenos* received certain privileges and immunities which must have been of very great value, the more so as they were generally conferred for life, and in many cases continued to the descendants of the *proxenos*. What these privileges and immunities were we learn very clearly from those inscriptions which record grants of *proxenia* made by various Greek cities to foreigners. The most important were the following:

The right of free access to the senate and public assembly whenever it was required;

Protection for life and property, by land and sea, in peace and war;

Free passage and free export and import of goods both in peace and war;

The right of acquiring real property;

Exemption from certain taxes and dues;

Isopolity, which seems to have implied participation in all the rights of citizens except the franchise.

We very seldom find the right of citizenship, *politeia*, granted to the *proxenos* in the cities of Greece proper, though such grants are not unfrequent in Macedonia, Thrace, the islands, and Asia Minor.

Besides these permanent privileges and emoluments, the *proxenos* often received the honour of a statue or a gold crown for some special service. Grants of *proxenia* were generally engraved on marble *stelæ* or on walls, but sometimes on bronze tablets, *delti*, which were probably executed in duplicate, one copy being given to the *proxenos*, the other retained by the State to which he was attached. The total number of these decrees now extant probably exceeds three hundred. They have been obtained, not only from the great centres of Greek commerce, such as Athens or Corinth, but from many remote and obscure cities throughout the Hellenic world. Most of the extant decrees may be referred to the period between the accession of Alexander the Great and the time of Augustus, though we have clear evidence of the existence of *proxeni* as early as the sixth century B.C., and the institution probably originated at a much earlier period, when the civilising influence of commerce began to counteract the general barbarism of an age of piracy. The paucity of decrees of *proxenia* which can be assigned to the Roman period leads us to infer that the institution gradually fell into disuse after the Greek cities ceased to be autonomous. It may have been the policy of the Roman conqueror to destroy these bonds of sympathy and common interest among the Hellenic States.[41]

I have noticed the more important political and diplomatic services which formed the motive of honorary decrees conferred either on citizens or aliens. But there were many other services rendered by individuals which the State thought worthy of public honours, and the record of which on marble has handed down to us the names of a few public-spirited and patriotic men, who took pleasure in devoting their surplus wealth and their best energies to the common weal, and who may be called the Peabodys of the ancient world. We have an interesting record of such a benefactor in an inscription found in that remote outpost of Hellenic civilisation, Olbia, on the Scythian coast of the Black Sea. This inscription tells us how, at some time in the second century B.C., when the city was impoverished in finances, and scarcely able to defend itself from the constant inroads of surrounding barbarians, a rich citizen named Protogenes reduced the public debt by loans on the most favourable terms, and averted a famine by a largess of corn sold under the market price. Moreover he put the city in a state of defence by rebuilding its walls, undertaking all liabilities for this work himself, and repaired many public edifices. It would have been interesting to know what rewards beside gold crowns were conferred on Protogenes for such long and signal services, but unfortunately the inscription, long as it is, is only the preamble of the honorary decree, the rest of which has been broken off. Probably there were granted to Protogenes one or more gold crowns, an equestrian statue in the market-place, and a sumptuous funeral and stately tomb at the public expense. These ephemeral honours have long since

vanished, but as Pope has immortalised the Man of Ross, so Mr. Grote has judged the name of Protogenes of Olbia not unworthy of notice in his great history.[42]

Another class of benefactors whom the Greek cities rewarded with public honours were physicians, respecting whom we have several honorary decrees. In the ancient Greek republics, as in many parts of the Archipelago at this day, physicians were paid an annual stipend by the community on the condition that they gave their services gratuitously to individuals. To secure the permanent services of eminent physicians, cities bid against each other, as we see by the story of Demokedes in Herodotos. An inscription from the obscure city of Rhodiapolis in Lykia,[43] has handed down the fame of one of these disciples of Asklepios, so esteemed in their day, so forgotten now. Herakleitos the Rhodian, says this decree, was equally honoured by the Rhodians, the Alexandrians, the Athenians, the most holy court of the Areopagos, and the Epicurean philosophers; he was renowned not only as a physician, but as a writer of medical treatises both in prose and poetry. He gave his medical attendance gratis, and at his own expense erected a temple and statues to Asklepios and Hygieia, in which he dedicated his own treatises and poems; these latter, no doubt, were esteemed at the time a very precious offering, for the inscription declares Herakleitos to be the very Homer of medical poetry. To our more fastidious taste, such poems would probably be as little palatable as Darwin's "Loves of the Triangles." Poets, too, had their share of these public distinctions. In a decree of Halikarnassos, one Caius Julius Longinus is honoured with bronze statues in the Mouseion and

the Gymnasion, side by side with the statue of Herodotos. His books are to be placed in the public library "in order that youth may study them as they study the ancient authors."[44]

An honorary decree which I discovered at Iasos, in Karia, adds one more name to the list of Greek tragic poets.

This decree bestows a gold crown on one Dymas, the author of a poem on Dardanos, and whose piety to the gods and good services to the city are specially dwelt on. The gratitude of a Karian city has rescued this poet-laureate from the absolute oblivion which his verse perhaps deserved.

After Roman ascendency had been established we find, as might have been expected, all over the Hellenic world the subject-matter and style of Greek inscriptions affected by this great political change. Though many cities were still nominally autonomous, there are fewer indications of that frank and friendly intercourse between different republics which induced them to refer much of their domestic litigation, as well as many disputes with their neighbours, to the arbitration of some friendly neutral State.

From the time when Roman ascendency prevailed, the tendency was more and more to refer all disputes between city and city, and all important questions of internal administration, to the new centre of the civilised world. It was the decree of the Senate in the latter days of the Roman Republic, and subsequently the fiat of the Emperor or of his delegates, which settled all appeals from the provinces. After the accession of Augustus, the reigning Emperor became in the eyes

of the provincials a Present Deity. His accession was celebrated with solemn sacrifices, and on each successive birthday a congratulatory address was presented to him, which was afterwards engraved on marble.[45] Temples in his honour, called Augustea, were erected in the principal cities. His statue in bronze or marble met the eye in all places of public resort; every coin bore his image and superscription; and on the walls of the temples, theatres, and other public edifices men gazed with reverent eyes on the Imperial edicts and rescripts graven on the marble in bold and clear characters, which were picked out with vermilion to render them the more distinct. Many of these documents were transcripts of the bronze originals stored up in the Capitol at Rome, and it is from these copies that a few precious relics of the Imperial archives have been handed down to us. The provincial cities had as good reason for taking care of their archives as the corporations of mediæval times, for the liberties and privileges which many cities enjoyed under Imperial sway were conferred in the first instance, or from time to time confirmed, by decrees of the Senate or by Imperial letters. If we possessed the entire archives of one of the great cities of Asia Minor during a single reign, we should better appreciate the comprehensive range and minute precision of Imperial administration, which in its best age seems to have been capable of dealing with the most varied and complicated interests, while it found time to control many details which can hardly be considered matters of State.

In the celebrated correspondence between Pliny, when governor of Bithynia, and the Emperor Trajan, we have a specimen of the mode in which the chief of

the empire personally directed the affairs of a distant province in Asia Minor. The few letters or edicts from Emperors or Roman official personages to Greek cities, which have been preserved in inscriptions, are a precious supplement to the letters which passed between Trajan and Pliny. These inscriptions range from the second century B.C., when the Romans first began to interfere in the affairs of Greece, down to the Byzantine period of the empire. Even from these scanty relics, which have been saved from the wreck of so many archives, we learn what a variety of matters came under the notice of the Emperor, or the Senate and the Roman officials who carried out the orders of the central authority. Among the subjects thus dealt with we find awards about disputed boundaries or the division of public land, and grants of freedom and other privileges for special services to certain cities. These favours appear to have been more freely granted in the earlier stage of Roman conquest than when their authority was fully established under the empire. It was the policy of the Senate to reward with special rights and privileges the cities which sided with Rome against such formidable enemies as Mithradates and Antiochos. Thus we find that Sylla, in consideration of the great services rendered by the people of Chios in the war between Rome and Mithradates, granted them the right of retaining their own laws and customs, to which the Romans resident in Chios are to be subject. A *senatûs consultum*, bearing date B.C. 170, which has been admirably edited by M. Foucart, shows how the Romans dealt with a city whose allegiance was still doubtful. Thisbè in Bœotia had taken part with Perseus, King of Macedon, but on

the approach of a Roman army the Macedonian party had been expelled from the city, and their adversaries, the oligarchical party, surrendered it to the Romans. In the *senatûs consultum* we see the severe conditions imposed by the conqueror on all who had not shown readiness in declaring themselves in favour of the Romans.[46] The city and territory of Teos, in Ionia, is declared to be sacred, and for ever exempt from tribute, by a letter of the Prætor, M. Valerius Messalla, B.C. 193.[47] In a letter from Mark Antony, as triumvir, to the people of Aphrodisias, a *senatûs consultum* is cited, which grants them freedom, exemption from taxation, and a confirmation of all privileges granted by the triumvirs. Further, the temple of Aphrodite is to enjoy a right of asylum for fugitives equal in extent to that attached to the temple of Diana at Ephesos.[48] How long such special privileges were preserved intact under the empire, and how far they were modified by the centralising tendency of Roman despotism, we know not; but it appears from Tacitus that the cities of Asia Minor from time to time submitted to the Senate these ancient documents, as the title-deeds of the privileges which they claimed, and there is no reason to think that such evidence was arbitrarily set aside. Among the privileges to which the cities of Asia Minor attached a special, and, as it would seem to us, an undue importance, were the honorary titles—such as "metropolis," "first city of Asia," etc.—which were conferred by the Emperors on certain cities, to mark their greater political consequence. Hence jealousies arose between rival cities. Thus we find from a letter from Antoninus Pius, discovered by Mr. Wood in the Odeion at Ephesos, that the Ephesian

people made a formal complaint to the Emperor against the Smyrnæans for having omitted to give their city its proper style and titles in a public document. There is a lurking sarcasm in the Emperor's reply: the omission, he suggests, is probably due to inadvertence, and he trusts that it will not be repeated.[49]

Though ordinary crimes in the provinces were probably left to be dealt with in regular course by the local tribunals, the Emperors from time to time thought fit to appoint special commissioners to hold inquests. Thus Augustus writes to the Knidians to inform them that he has at their request sent Gallus Asinius to inquire how a certain Euboulos met with his death by violence.[50]

The provinces were not content to submit their wants and grievances to the Emperor or Senate only through the regular official channel. In the great cities of Asia Minor were citizens of local influence who from time to time were sent to Rome on special missions from their fellow-citizens. Some of these being personally known to the Emperor, and reputed to enjoy his confidence, were honoured in their native cities with the title *Philokaisares* or "Cæsar's friends." Such an agent was that Artemidoros of Knidos, who warned Julius Cæsar of his intended assassination, or that Potamon, son of Lesbonax, to whom Tiberius gave a pass in these words, "If any one dares to injure Potamon, let him consider whether he can contend with Me," and whose marble chair, marking his seat of honour in the theatre, is to be seen to this day at Mytilene; or that Theophanes, also of Mytilene, whose friendship with Pompey gained for his native city the grant of freedom.[51] Inscriptions record the names and services of many such "friends of

Cæsar," who were sometimes eminent as sophists and rhetoricians.

The few fragments of imperial and proconsular documents which we possess, though they may not contribute much to the general history of the Roman Empire, are valuable as illustrations of the mode of administration in the provinces, and as furnishing some new chronological data out of which more complete *fasti* are being constructed. But Asia Minor has contributed one lapidary text of surpassing interest to the historian of the Augustan age; that is, the summary of the deeds and events of his reign which Augustus drew up himself, and which was engraved on two bronze tablets and placed in front of his mausoleum at Rome. The bronze tablets have long since disappeared, but the text of this remarkable imperial document has been nearly recovered by the careful collation of two extant copies in marble, one discovered at Apollonia in Phrygia, the other at Ankyra in Galatia. The magnitude of the deeds recorded in this summary contrasts strikingly with the unadorned and laconic simplicity of the language. In the same calm tone the Emperor enumerates the public edifices with which he has embellished Rome, the triumphs which he has celebrated, and the countries which he has annexed to the empire; the new regions which his fleets have explored; the embassies sent to do him homage from the uttermost parts of the habitable world—among which figure two British kings, one of whom, Dumnovelaunus, is known to us from coins; the treasures which his wise economy has accumulated; the largesses to the Roman people, and the subventions to the provinces in aid of sufferers from earthquakes; and,

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last but not least, the crowns and the personal honours lavishly bestowed on him by a grateful Senate and people. The first traveller who noticed and copied this precious inscription at Ankyra was Busbequius in 1544. Much of it was then concealed in the wall of a Turkish house, the demolition of which we owe to that excellent traveller, the late William L. Hamilton. The Emperor Napoleon III. sent an expedition to Galatia for the purpose of securing a perfect facsimile of the inscription, and it has since been published in Germany with elaborate commentaries by Franz and Mommsen.[52] In drawing up this record of the exploits of his reign, Augustus followed the example of the old Assyrian and Egyptian monarchs, and we can hardly doubt that Alexander and his royal successors left similar monuments, though the only extant specimen is the text of the Marmor Adulitanum, which records the triumphs of Ptolemy Euergetes, and of which the original was seen and copied in Nubia, by that intelligent traveller, Cosmas Indicopleustes, as early as A.D. 545.[53]

Before we quit the subject of imperial administration, I would draw attention to one more document of general interest—the edict by which Diocletian tried, in defiance of the doctrines of political economy, to regulate the price of all commodities within his dominions. This ordinance is what is called an Edict to the Provincials, being addressed to the subjects of the Emperor, not through the medium of the ordinary public functionaries, but directly.

The preamble of the edict sets forth its motive in wordy and pompous phraseology. The Emperor alleges the general misery and penury of his subjects caused by

the wicked and sordid avarice of those who, in the quaint language of our old English law, used to be called forestallers and regraters, and who by buying up the whole of any article of commerce could afterwards exact whatever price they pleased. The edict undertakes to provide a remedy for this evil, not by arbitrarily fixing the price of commodities, but by declaring what shall be the *maximum* price which they must not exceed. The list of articles in the edict comprises provisions, the wages per diem of various kinds of labour, clothing, carpets, timber, and various implements in wood, and includes not only the necessaries but many of the luxuries of ancient life. Silks and embroidered vestments glittering with gold and Tyrian purple occupy several columns. Among the garments, we find the *dalmatica*, of which the name still survives in an ecclesiastical vestment; and the *caracalla*, a coarse cloak with a hood, still known in European Turkey as the *grego* or *capote*, and adopted with little modification by many monastic orders in the Latin Church. The edict being bilingual, we are able to ascertain from it the meaning of some obscure Græco-barbaric words through their Latin equivalents. Among the fruits we meet with an old acquaintance, the damson, which was originally the *Damascenum*, or plum of Damascus. We get too the name pistachio in the disguised form *psittachium*. Among the game is the *Attagen*, an Ionian bird greatly esteemed by Roman gourmands, which has been identified by ornithologists with a kind of partridge (*Pterocles alchata*) still found on the coasts of the Levant.

All the wines mentioned in this edict are Italian, but the greater part of the articles of commerce, and

especially the more costly ones, are from the Eastern part of the empire. All the prices are calculated in the copper *denarius* of Diocletian's time; and, could we be sure what would be the equivalent of this sum in modern money, this document would form a very interesting chapter in the history of ancient political economy. But on this point Mommsen and other authorities are not agreed. Mr. Waddington, the latest editor of the edict, has converted these into francs, and from his list the following prices may be quoted as specimens:

Ordinary wine, fcs. 0·92 the litre.
Beef, fcs. 1·52 the kilogramme.
Pork, fcs. 2·28 ditto.
A pair of fowls, fcs. 3·72.
Oysters, fcs. 6·20 the hundred.
Eggs, fcs. 6·20 ditto.

Wages:

A labourer in the country with food, fcs. 1·55 a day.
A mason or a carpenter with food, fcs. 3·10 a day.
A teacher of grammar, fcs. 12·40 for each child per month.
To an advocate for drawing up a case for the tribunal, fcs. 12·40.
For obtaining the judgment, fcs. 62·00.

It is unfortunate that the portion of the inscription which contained the price of wheat and barley is wanting.

The edict is made up of many fragments, which have been discovered in various parts of the Roman Empire. The preamble was obtained in Egypt; a great part of the tariff was found by Sherard, in 1709, on the wall of a Roman edifice at Stratonikea in Caria; Mylasa in the same province, and Æzanis in Phrygia, contributed some small fragments; and several portions of the Greek text have been discovered in recent years, in Northern Greece

and in the Morea.[51] The edict, being of general application, would doubtless have been set up in many if not in all the principal cities of the empire, and therefore it is rather surprising that more copies of it have not been discovered. As it is said to have produced extreme discontent at the time of its promulgation, its unpopularity may have contributed to the destruction of the marbles on which it was engraved, after its author had ceased to rule.

The series of Greek inscriptions which I have noticed in this memoir ranges over at least eight centuries, from the middle of the sixth century B.C., or earlier, to A.D. 301, the date of the edict of Diocletian.

The habit of engraving public documents on durable materials continued long after this epoch, and some curious Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period are to be found in the last volume of Böckh's "Corpus." But these are connected with another faith, and another political and social system; and therefore I prefer not to extend my survey beyond the period in which paganism was still the State religion of the Roman Empire.

I have drawn attention, in this memoir, to those inscriptions which appeared especially worthy of notice as historical documents. In the following memoir I have to deal with another and less known class of inscriptions —those relating to Greek religious worship.

ON GREEK INSCRIPTIONS.*

II.

The inscriptions with which I have now to deal may be roughly classed under the following heads: Temples; Ritual and Ministers of Religion; Religious Associations and Clubs; Dedications; Sepulchral Monuments.

The temples of the Greeks were erected and endowed partly at the cost of the State, and also by the piety of rich individuals. Probably in many cases, as for instance at Olympia, the temple was not built till long after its site had become hallowed by sacrifice and by the consultation of an oracle. Each successive generation of worshippers contributed offerings, which, as they accumulated, formed a fund subsequently devoted to the building of the temple. It was customary to dedicate the tenth of the spoils of war, and to enforce the observance of treaties and laws by fines to be paid to some particular deity named in the law. The land confiscated on account of political offences became the property of the local deity, and was either added to the domain of his temple, or resold in lots, with a title

* "Nineteenth Century," June and August, 1878.

guaranteed against all claims by divine authority. In proportion as the wealth of a temple increased, so also grew the fame of its worship, and offerings came from the kings and potentates of far countries, eager to propitiate the Deity of a famous shrine, and at the same time to cultivate the alliance of the State in whose territory it was situated. Then arose the belief that these time-hallowed sanctuaries were the safest conceivable places in which earthly treasure could be laid up, and the temples became in some sort banks of deposit. As specie and bullion accumulated in the coffers of the Gods, it was invested in loans or in the purchase of real property. It has been asserted too, not without some show of probability, that in some instances the temples had mints from which coins were issued.[55] It may be well to illustrate these statements by reference to inscriptions.

In my previous memoir, p. 104, I have pointed out how, in the most ancient extant treaty in the Greek language, a fine of a silver talent, to be paid to the Zeus of Olympia, is imposed on any one who presumes to violate the treaty. In like manner, in the convention between the people of Halikarnassos and Lygdamis, published in my "History of Discoveries," any one attempting to set aside the enactments of that law is liable to have his goods confiscated to Apollo. In the inscription from Halikarnassos, which seems, as I have stated in my previous memoir, to be the sequel to the convention with Lygdamis (see Appendix), certain real property is described as due, *i.e.* forfeit, to Apollo and other local deities, and those deities undertake to guarantee the title of this forfeited real property to all

who purchase it from them; the surveyors of the temple, *neopoiai*, for ever being associated in this guarantee. So in the accounts of the Temple of the Delian Apollo, preserved in the celebrated Marmor Sandvicense,[56] a list is given of persons, all fined 10,000 drachmæ for impiety, *asebeia*. I have noticed, *ante*, p. 113, the treasure laid by in the Parthenon at Athens after the Persian war, and the precautions taken for its custody. A decree found at Oropos in Bœotia shows how such treasures were dealt with when articles became unserviceable. This inscription gives a list of a number of sacrificial vessels belonging to the Amphiaraïon near Oropos, which were broken up as unfit for use, and melted down again; and it is ordered that a large gold sacrificial dish, *phialè*, be made out of the bullion thus obtained, and be dedicated to Amphiaraos. In like manner a statue of Zeus is dedicated at Ilium Novum by the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian out of sacred silver bullion, the product of previous melting down.[57]

The Oropos decree shows how carefully the treasure of an ancient temple was protected from embezzlement by the supervision of a number of functionaries independent of each other. Three commissioners are to be elected from the entire body of citizens, who are to receive the treasure in question from its ordinary guardians, the *hierarchæ*. The polemarchs, who were the chief magistrates, and the *katoptæ*, who seem to have been a kind of scrutineers, are to take part in this handing over. The three commissioners are then to cause to be put in order such articles as are in need of repair, and to make new sacrificial vessels of the

remainder, consulting the polemarchs, hierarchs, and *synegori* about this. An inventory of the articles which are to be broken up and melted down, specifying the weight, the name and country of the dedicator, and the nature of the object, is to be engraved on a marble pillar. Three inscriptions of a similar nature have been recently discovered at Athens. Two of these are decrees of the Athenian people, sanctioning the melting down of a number of votive offerings dedicated in gratitude for cures in the temple of a certain physician who, having received divine honours after his death, was designated the Hero Physician. The first of these decrees is probably not later than the early part of the second century B.C. It states that the priest (*hiereus*) of the Hero Physician has proposed to the *demos* to dedicate an *oinochoè* to the Hero Physician out of the votive offerings in silver which have accumulated in his temple. This is agreed on by the senate and people, and five commissioners are thereupon appointed, of whom two are members of the Areiopagos. These are to be associated with the chief priest (*hiereus*) of the temple, the *strategos*, one of the chief magistrates of Athens, and the "architect who superintends sacred things." These functionaries, after duly propitiating the gods by a preliminary sacrifice, are to melt down the votive objects, whether of gold or silver, and make them into the finest possible dedication (*anathema*) for the god, inscribing on it the words, "The Senate (*boulè*) in the archonship of Thrasyphron (dedicate this) to the Hero Physician from the votive offerings." The commissioners are then to inscribe the names of the dedicators, and the weight of the objects dedicated, on a marble pillar (*stelè*), and having

placed it in the sacred precinct (*hieron*) are to render an account of their disbursements and of the proceeds of the melting down. Then follows the register of offerings, which, like those of the Bœotian Amphiaraïon, already referred to, consisted chiefly of models in silver of different parts of the body in which cures of diseases had been effected through the agency of the God. Whether among these models were representations of diseased parts sufficiently exact to serve for pathological study, we do not know; but Hippokrates is said to have derived part of his medical experience from the record of cases in the celebrated temple of Æsculapius in the island of Kos.

Both in the inscription from the Amphiaraïon and in the Athenian one we find among the votive offerings the large silver coin of the period, called tetradrachm, the value of which would be about four francs. This, it is to be presumed, was the fee offered to the God. Pausanias tells us that in the Bœotian Amphiaraïon was a well, in which convalescent persons were in the habit of depositing gold and silver coins in gratitude for their recovery. It is to be presumed that the priests of the Amphiaraïon did not leave this money in the well, but placed it in the temple among the other *anathemata*. The custom of dropping the God's fee in the well may have originated in the idea that the water would purify the coin from the pollution caused by the touch of a sick person. In modern lazarettos money received from the hand of a person in quarantine is usually passed through water.

After the register follows the account duly rendered

by the commission, of which the following may be given as a translation :

Received.

	Drachmæ.
Silver drachmæ . .	18
Weight of silver models.	116
Weight of *philè* . .	100
	234

Expended.

	Drachmæ.
Propitiatory sacrifice	15
Waste in melting silver	12
Engraving *stelè* .	8.3 obols
Making *oinochoè* .	12
Weight of *oinochoè* .	183.3 obols
	232
Balance in hand	2
Drachmæ . .	234

The decree disposes of the balance of two drachmæ (about 1*s.* 6*d.*) by ordering it to be made into a votive offering. It should be noted that the sum of the expenditure is, according to our modern arithmetic, only 231 drachmæ. Either the mark of a single drachma has been effaced from the stone, or the engraver of the *stelè,* who does not seem to have been overpaid for cutting eighty-eight lines of letters, has inadvertently omitted it. Time rolled on, and at some later period, probably in the first century B.C., we find from another inscription that the *hiereus* of the same temple represented to the Athenian Senate that the sacrificial vessels of the Hero Physician were sadly out of repair—that he wanted, in short, a new service of plate. The senate accordingly named a commission similar to the former one, whom they empowered to melt down the old offerings and sacrificial vessels and make new ones out of the proceeds. A very similar decree relating to the votive offerings in the Asklepieion at Athens has been recently found on the site of that temple near the Akropolis.[53]

I have noted in my Travels (ii. p. 7) the use made by the modern Greeks of the *anathemata* in their churches. In the village of Ayasso in Mytilene is a church dedicated to the Virgin, which is greatly frequented by pilgrims and rich in votive offerings. These, as I was informed at Ayasso, are periodically melted down; and out of the proceeds the priests of the church receive a share, the rest being employed in some public work for the benefit of the community. The aqueduct with which the village of Ayasso is supplied was, I was told, built with the funds thus obtained.

Of the immense treasure dedicated in the temple of Apollo at Branchidæ we have a few samples in the fragments of inventories which have come down to us. One of these contains a list of sacrificial vessels dedicated by Seleukos the Second and his brother Antiochos Hierax. On the same marble is a gracious letter from Seleukos to the people of Miletos, stating that he has sent them the offerings for libations and other sacrificial uses.[59] The inscription discovered by Mr. Wood at Ephesos, which gives an account of the treasure dedicated by Salutaris in the temple of Diana, and of his other gifts, is especially interesting because it contains a detailed list of figures of Artemis, with her attendant stags, in silver and gold, which at once remind us of the little shrines of the Ephesian goddess which Demetrius the silversmith and his brother craftsmen were supplying to the Roman world at the time when St. Paul preached Christianity in the theatre at Ephesus. The date of the Salutaris inscription is A.D. 104. The weight of the several statues thus dedicated ranges from three to seven Roman pounds. When these works of art require cleaning, this is to be

done by the keeper of the sacred deposits for the time being, in the presence of the two surveyors of the temple (*neopoiai*) and another officer. Only a particular kind of earth, called *argyromatikè*, "plate powder," is to be used for this purpose.[60]

The amount of treasure deposited in the Ephesian Artemision for security must have been very great, for, according to Dio Chrysostom, not only private persons, but kings and States preferred to place their money there, on account of the scrupulous integrity which the official guardians of such deposits always observed, and the publicity and regularity of their accounts. We learn from an Ephesian inscription, published by Lebas,[61] that this money was lent at interest, and that it was the business of the auditors of sacred funds to enforce payment of all interest or other money due to the goddess, and to punish defaulters by striking them off the register of citizens, or suspending their civic rights for a time.

In the Marmor Sandvicense, already referred to, we see this system of lending sacred money more in detail; that document gives a list of States, bankers, and other private persons to whom large sums belonging to the temple of Apollo at Delos had been lent. We find from this Delian inscription that the amount of interest paid on loans by States amounted to upwards of four talents, that on loans to private persons to nearly 5000 drachmæ. The names of the cities and individuals who had not paid up their interest at the date of the inscription are also published. It is to be presumed that these loans were made on the security of mortgages on land or houses, as in the case of the money of minors. The recent excavations at Delos, conducted by M. Homolle, under the

direction of the École Française at Athens, have brought to light some interesting inscriptions relating to the temple of Delos and its management.[62]

From an Athenian inscription of which the fragments have been finally edited by Kirchhoff,[63] we learn that for eleven years during the Peloponnesian war large sums were borrowed by the Athenian people from the treasuries of Athenè and the other deities, which are ordered to be replaced with interest, about Olymp. 90. In this account are entered all the sums paid on requisition to the *Hellenotamiæ* by the treasurers of the different gods; in each entry the auditors (*logistæ*) add the interest of the loan.

It was hardly to be expected that much of the treasures accumulated in ancient temples should have escaped the hand of the spoiler and the many conflagrations of temples which are recorded. There are, however, a few exceptions. The interesting collection of silver vases and statues in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris evidently once belonged to a temple of Mercury near Bernay, in Normandy. At Lampsakos were found a number of silver spoons, which the inscriptions on them showed to have once belonged to a pagan temple, and which had been afterwards converted to Christian use. More recently Mr. Lang and General Cesnola were both so fortunate as to find treasure intact underneath temples in Cyprus. Mr. Lang's prize was a most interesting collection of silver coins; General Cesnola stumbled on three underground vaulted chambers full of votive objects in gold, silver, and bronze.[64]

In many cases the domain attached to a temple must have belonged to it from time immemorial, but subsequent accessions of territory in historical times must

have been duly recorded in inscriptions which constituted the title-deeds of these sacred estates. As an example of such title-deeds I would cite the grant of a whole village (*komê*) to the temple of Zeus Baitokaikeus by one of the Seleukidæ, probably Antiochos the Thirteenth, on the condition that its revenue should be devoted to the monthly sacrifices and other expenses of the temple. Prefixed to this document is a letter of the Emperors Gallienus and the two Valerians, in which this royal grant is confirmed in the third century A.D.[65]

With regard to the management of real property belonging to temples we have some interesting information in the leases of sacred lands found at Mylasa and Olymos in Karia. Here we have distinct proof that what is called in Roman law emphyteutic tenure was in use among the Greeks in the case of sacred land.

The number of leases and documents relating to the letting of land which are extant in inscriptions is very small, but we may distinguish the following varieties of tenure. Land is held by the peculiar tenure known as *emphyteusis* in Roman law, or by a lease for one or more lives, or for a term of years, or on the condition of defraying the expenses of certain rites and sacrifices. Very clear examples of emphyteutic tenure occur at Mylasa and Olymos in Karia. The nature of this tenure will be best understood by the following abstract of an inscription from Mylasa published in the *Voyage Archéologique* of Lebas.[66] Thraseas, a citizen of Mylasa, had two properties, one of which he had inherited, the other purchased. He sells both of these to the commissioners (*ktematonæ*) whose function it was to purchase land on account of a temple. The sum which Thraseas

received for the land is 7000 drachmæ; he has to register the sale and to give sureties (*bebaiotæ*), who guarantee the purchaser against all fraud or flaw in the contract. He then becomes the tenant of the same land at an annual rent of 300 drachmæ, about £12. This rent is to be regularly paid; otherwise the lease is to be forfeited, and the treasurers of the tribe are to relet the land at the same rent to some one else. If we suppose the rent of 300 drachmæ to represent half the interest of 7000 drachmæ, Thraseas will have left rather less than 4½ per cent. for the interest of the purchase money, besides which he would have the usufruct of his land. He would have the further advantage that the land would be protected from confiscation or arbitrary imposts. This lease had to be ratified by the lessee appearing publicly before the popular assembly.

At Olymos in Karia,[67] we find the *demos* granting the lease of certain lands the property of the Zeus of Labranda, of Apollo and of Artemis, to certain lessees, their heirs and assigns forever, to be cultivated as they would cultivate their own lands, on condition of paying to the treasurers of the *demos* a yearly rent of 100 silver drachmæ (about £4), and a quantity, not specified, of incense. The witnesses in one of these leases are the treasurers of the four tribes of Olymos and the proprietors of the lands adjacent to the lands let. In the second lease seven citizens are sureties severally for a seventh part.

In another inscription from Olymos in Karia[68] we see the steps taken when land was purchased on account of a temple. By a decree of the *demos* it is ordered that certain lands be purchased out of sacred funds belonging to Apollo and Artemis. First the *demos*

is to elect *ktematonæ* or commissioners for the purchase and sale of sacred lands. These commissioners are to draw part of the purchase money from the bankers Sibilos and Euthydemos, and, taking the remainder out of the treasury, to purchase the lands in question, of which a lease is to be granted in perpetuity to a certain person and his heirs, provided he pays the rent to the treasurers of the *demos*.

After the purchase has been effected, the *ktematonæ* are to convey to Apollo and Artemis the title to the lands in question. The rent to be paid is not to be less than half the interest of the purchase money. Here a question arises—What precaution did the State take to insure the due cultivation of the land by the lessee to whom it was leased in perpetuity? The answer to this question is to be found in the leases engraved on bronze which are commonly known as the *Tabulæ Heracleenses*, and which were found early in the last century near Heraklea in Southern Italy. These tablets contain the most complete and elaborate leases of sacred lands which have been handed down to us from Greek antiquity. The land to which these leases relate is to be let for life for four hundred and ten of the measures of wheat called *medimni*. As maps and terriers were not in use in the ancient world, the inscription first describes with great minuteness the boundaries of the land and its measurement. The lessees are to give sureties for five years, and the persons as well as the goods of these sureties are to be liable, as was the case in the old Roman law. The leases are to be granted in the name of the city and of certain civic magistrates called *polianomi*. If the land is sublet or the crop sold, the sub-lessees are to

give security in like manner as the lessees. Any one failing to produce sureties or to make due payment of his rent is to pay double rent and a fine besides. The sureties are to make a declaration as to the amount of property they can offer as guarantee for the payment of the rent, arrears, fines, and for the due execution of legal judgments. Then follow the conditions of tillage. In the part of the land suitable for the culture of the vine the lessee shall not plant less than ten of the land measures called *schœni* with vines ; on land where the soil suits olives, there must not be less than four olive trees in every *schœnos.* If the lessee shall plead that the land is not suitable for olives, the *polianomi*, taking with them any person from the *demos* whom they may select, shall survey the land, and deliver their report on oath to the public assembly. Trees destroyed by age or wind to be the property of the tenants. If they fail to plant the prescribed number of olive trees and vines, they must pay a fine of ten silver *nummi* for each olive plant, and two *minæ* of silver for each *schœnos* of vines. The watercourses are to be carefully preserved. The roads are to be kept in repair ; no mounds of earth are to be raised on the land, nor any sand dug out except what is required in building. The tufa shall not be quarried out. The tenements to be erected on the land are to be a house, cowhouse, shed, and threshing-floor, of certain prescribed dimensions. If these are not properly provided with roofs and doors within the time allowed for planting the trees, fines are to be paid. The timber on the estate may be used for building on it or for vine props, but it is not to be cut or employed for any other purpose. The earth round the olive trees and

fig trees must be dug and heaped up round them. When vines or olive trees decay, they are to be replaced by planting fresh ones. The land and tenements are not to be mortgaged or pledged in any way. If any one of the tenants dies without issue or intestate, the produce of his land goes to the city. In case the tenants are hindered by war from gathering in the crops, the conditions of the lease are to be modified as the Herakleans may decide. If the *polianomi* do not observe the conditions of the lease, they also are held responsible.

The entire lot of land sacred to Dionysos was 3320½ *schœni*, which let for an annual rent of rather more than 410 *medimni* of corn. Of this, 738½ *schœni* let for 300 *medimni*. The date of this inscription is probably towards the close of the fourth century B.C.[69] It is probable that regular emphyteutic leases in perpetuity, like those granted at Heraklea, were preferred by the administrators of sacred lands. They may, however, have granted leases for a term of years with a fixed rent, as the Attic *demos* and other corporations did. Of such leases we have several examples. They sometimes gave the tenant the advantage of exemption from such taxes as land was liable to. In leases contracted between individuals and the State on account of sacred or public lands, provision was generally made for the periodical supervision of the land by surveyors appointed for that purpose. Sureties for the due execution of the conditions of the lease were usually demanded of the tenant. From a decree passed by one of the Athenian tribes a survey is ordered to be made of certain lands twice a year.[70]

Within the *hieron*, or sacred precinct immediately adjacent to a temple, all cultivation of the ground,

cutting of timber, or even in some cases the gathering of firewood, was strictly forbidden.

The documents relating to the property of temples to which I have referred show very distinctly that in the Greek republics it was the State itself which undertook the charge and management of this sacred property, and that the ministers of religion who in various grades were attached to temples had very little, if any, administrative control over such endowments. The same principle was adopted in reference to the temples themselves, except in the case of those which, being the result of private endowment, were never considered as the property of the State. The contract for building a temple was made by certain officers duly appointed and empowered by the State, and the necessary disbursements on account of such works must have been sanctioned by the authority of the popular assembly. This may be inferred from the evidence of the few inscriptions relative to the building of temples which have come down to us. That recently found at Lebadea,[71] which, as has been already stated, contains a contract for the building of a temple of Zeus Basileus, is remarkable for its elaborate specifications as to the execution of the work, and the penalties to be enforced against the contractors, surveyors, and all other persons employed on the building for any shortcoming or transgression of the rules laid down. The celebrated inscription relating to the Erechtheion, to which I also referred in my former memoir, contains a survey of that temple while in course of construction, made in pursuance of a decree of the Athenian people, B.C. 409.

Among the Arundel marbles is part of a similar decree of the people of Delos, specifying the conditions

under which contracts are to be made for the repair of the temple of Apollo.

In a decree recently discovered at Athens permission is granted by the senate to the priest of Asklepios and Hygieia to restore at his own expense the temple of the God whom he served, and to put in new doors and roof.[72]

The next class of inscriptions I have to deal with are those relating to the ministers of religion. When we speak of Greek priests, we must bear in mind that nowhere among the Hellenic States do we find a sacerdotal order so completely severed from the rest of the community as the priests and Levites of ancient Judæa, or the clergy of mediæval Christendom. In Greek society we discover no such broadly marked division as is implied in the terms clerics and laymen, and in the relations between Greek priests and their fellow-citizens, so far as we know them, there are few traces of that antagonism which the history of other religions exhibits wherever the power and pretensions of a sacerdotal order are no longer in harmony with the general feelings of the community.

As among the Greeks there was no regular sacerdotal order corresponding with our idea of a clergy, so it becomes very difficult to present a clear and definite statement of the authority of the ministers of religion in ancient Hellas, of their functions, grades, and social influence. We find from inscriptions that the titles by which these sacred functionaries are designated vary in different States. We have as yet insufficient data to enable us to define the duties and offices of the various ministers so designated. To begin, however, with the most prominent of these titles—the *hiereus* and the

hiereia—there can be no doubt that in most Greek States these two represented the priest and priestess of highest rank attached to a temple. Now, such priests and priestesses were not appointed by any uniform system; there was, so to speak, no fixed rule of ordination. Some priesthoods were hereditary, some elective; and in later times, when some Greek cities were autonomous only in name, we find an instance of the appointment of a priest by royal mandate; and again, some priests were appointed for life, others for a term of years. Nearly all the information we possess as to the mode of appointment of priests and priestesses is derived from inscriptions. In a Halikarnassian decree we have a list of twenty-seven priests of Poseidon, from which it appears that the succession to this office did not pass from father to son, but from brother to brother; the priesthood devolved to the sons of the eldest brother in the order of their seniority, then to the sons of the next brother, then back again to the grandson of the eldest brother, and so forth.

On the other hand we have from this same city, Halikarnassos, an inscription[73] which proves that priesthoods were sometimes purchased by individuals under certain conditions imposed by the State; and in an inscription recently found at Erythræ in Ionia, and now preserved in the museum of the Evangelical School at Smyrna, we have a long list of sales of priesthoods, in which the price paid, the name of the purchaser and of his surety, are duly registered. The sums paid seem small; the priesthood of Hermes Agoraios commands the highest price, 4610 drachmæ, equal to about £184 8s.[74]

The hereditary right to a priesthood was probably derived in most instances from the ancient *gens* from which the family sprang in whom this dignity was vested. Certain rites peculiar to that *gens*, and from which the members of other *gentes* were jealously excluded, were handed down from father to son in a particular family; and it was the unbroken tradition and continuous observance of these rites and the mystery attached to them that must in many cases have invested this family with a sacerdotal authority from time immemorial. Thus, as Herodotos tells us, Telines, the ancestor of Gelon and Hieron of Syracuse, migrated from Knidos to Sicily, carrying with him the *Triopia sacra*, mysterious rites connected with the worship of Demeter and Persephonè. Hence the sacred office of hierophant of these deities was claimed by the descendants of Telines as their peculiar privilege and dignity; and it was in this capacity, according to Herodotos, that Gelon acquired in his native city, Gela, that ascendency which ultimately led to his rule in Syracuse. So again, the illustrious family of Eumolpidæ at Eleusis, who claimed descent from a mythic ancestor, Eumolpos, were hereditary hierophants of the Eleusinian mysteries. The office of torch-bearer (*daduchos*) in the same hierarchy was hereditary in the family of Kallias from B.C. 590 to B.C. 380, when, this family becoming extinct, this dignity was transferred to the family of Lykomedes, to which Themistokles belonged. Sometimes in reward for some special service a priesthood was granted to some citizen and his heirs forever by decree of the people.

In the Greek republics no person was eligible for the priesthood who was not a full citizen, and persons of

rank and birth were preferred. Those who followed mean and degrading callings, or led immoral and dissolute lives, were considered unworthy of so great an honour. The duties and obligations of the Greek ministers of religion must have varied as much as the rituals with which they were connected. In the earlier stages of Greek civilisation the *hiereus* of a particular deity was charged with the duty of looking to the repairs of the temple and with the general custody of sacred property, and we may infer from a passage in the *Politics* of Aristotle (vi. 5) that this was still the case in smaller cities in his own time. But from the period when inscriptions begin more fully to inform us as to the religious antiquities of the Greeks—that is to say, from the age of Perikles downwards—we find that in the more highly organised communities functions and dignities which may have been originally concentrated in the *hiereus* were distributed among a number of officers appointed by the State. Thus all connected with the architecture and repairs of the temple was in the charge of the *neopoies.* The treasures of the God were confided to special treasurers called *hierotamiæ,* and the accounts of expenditure and receipts were rendered to auditors, *logistæ,* appointed by the State. The great periodical festivals connected with particular temples, again, were managed by officers chosen *ad hoc* by the people. The special business of the *hiereus* in all pagan time was to be well acquainted with all the ritual of the temple to which he was attached, to see that the sacrifices were duly performed by authorised persons, and that the sanctity of the altar and sacred precincts was never violated by profane intruders. The ancient liturgies

consisted of a number of minute observances, which were prescribed in public laws and in sacred books with the most scrupulous accuracy. These books were the rubrics and kalendars of ancient paganism. We have in inscriptions several specimens of such ordinances.

In a decree of the city of Mykonos[75] is a list of certain days on which certain victims are to be offered. On the 12th of the month Poseideon a white ram and a lamb are to be sacrificed to Poseidon. The senate is to provide these victims, which are to be paid for out of the customs levied on fish. As these fish must have been caught in the neighbouring sea, such sacrifices were probably a thank-offering to Poseidon for a good yield of the fishery or a propitiatory offering in anticipation of such a godsend. In the month Lenaion, again, the harvest was to be celebrated by the sacrifice to Demeter of a sow pregnant with her first litter; a boar was at the same time sacrificed to Persephonè. It seems clear from the evidence of these inscriptions that the priests attached to the temples were in no sense the makers of these laws, which are always in the form of decrees of the people; but such ordinances may have been sometimes framed by the civil government at the suggestion of the priests, and it was certainly their duty to put them in force and to exact the appointed penalties for their transgression. It is probable that at the entrance to every sacred precinct a notice was set up declaring through what acts or through contact with what animals or things persons became impure, and so debarred from access to the *hieron*. Such ordinances were not, like the Mosaic law, consolidated in a general code to which all special cases could be referred, but varied in their

character according to the particular worship for which they were enacted, as we see by the few specimens which have been preserved in inscriptions. One of these, from Lindos in Rhodes,[76] begins with the declaration that the highest state of purity is to have a healthy mind, free from guilty conscience, in a healthy body. Then follows an *index ciborum prohibitorum*; those who wish to enter the *hieron* must abstain from lentils and goats' flesh for three previous days, and from fresh cheese for one day. This last article, if made in Attika, was forbidden to the priestess of Athenè Polias at Athens. The impurity contracted by contact with a dead body could only be purged by a quarantine of forty days. In the ancient silver mines at Laurion in Attica was found a similar inscription in reference to the worship of a deity called Men Tyrannos, which had been imported into Attica in Roman times. In this case garlic and pork are the proscribed articles of food, and the quarantine required after contact with a dead body is limited to ten days. No homicide is permitted to approach the precinct at all.[77]

An inscription from Ialysos in Rhodes gives us a law relating to the sacred precinct round the temple of Alektrona.[78] No horse, mule, ass, or any other beast of burden is to be allowed to enter within this precinct. No one is to tread on this "holy ground" in shoes made of hog's leather, or to introduce anything else belonging to swine. Any one transgressing these rules is bound to purify the precinct, or he will be held guilty of impiety (*asebeia*). Any one introducing sheep into the sacred precinct must pay an obol for each sheep. Three copies of this law are to be engraved on marble and set

up in different places. In an Athenian inscription which prohibits the taking timber or firewood from the *hieron* of Apollo, the proclamation is in the name of the *hiereus* of the god, who, in conjunction with the demarch, is to exact a fine of fifty drachmæ from any trespasser if he is a free citizen, and to report his name to the *Basileus Archon* and to the Senate, in pursuance of the decree of the people. If the transgressor is a slave, he is to receive fifty lashes, and his name, together with that of his master, is to be in like manner reported to the *Basileus Archon*.[79] The wilful transgression of any laws relating to a temple and its ritual was regarded as *asebeia*, "impiety," a crime which in its aggravated form was punished with the severest penalties, as we know from the instances of Alkibiades and Andokides, who were accused of having desecrated the Eleusinian mysteries. Such offences at Athens came under the cognisance of the *Basileus Archon*, who may be considered as the religious head of the community, exercising the jurisdiction which probably belonged originally to the kings of Attica.

The duties of priestesses were analogous to those of the priests. We can form some idea of them from the Halikarnassian inscription already referred to, in which the office of priestess of Artemis Pergaia is offered for sale. The conditions under which a legal purchase can be effected are very different from those which English law imposes on the purchaser of the next presentation to a living. The priestess must be able to show an aristocratic descent for three generations on both sides. Her appointment is for life; she has to perform the public sacrifices and those offered by individuals. Every

new moon she is to make a solemn thanksgiving or *supplicatio* on behalf of the city. She is to put the *hieron* in order, where a treasury for the goddess is to be provided. In the month in which the public sacrifice is performed, she is to make a collection "in front of the island," *i.e.* in a quarter of the city which must have been one of the most frequented,[80] but this collection is not to be a *quête* from house to house; the proceeds are to be for the priestess, who is also to receive a drachma for every monthly thanksgiving. She is also entitled to a joint and other parts of every victim in a public sacrifice. The treasure of the goddess is not placed in her charge, but in that of certain officers called *exetastæ*, scrutineers, who are to open it once a year and take out what is required for the necessary expenditure on public worship.

The principle of Mosaic law, that those who minister to the altar are to be fed from the altar, prevailed also among the Greeks. At every sacrifice certain parts of the victim were reserved for the officiating priest, and a small fee was probably always exacted from each private sacrificer. Besides these perquisites, the ministers of religion must have derived more or less emolument from the produce of sacred lands, and some percentage may have accrued to them from the interest of money lent to the temple. Their usual place of dwelling was within the *hieron*, and it is to be presumed that the deity whom they served exacted no rent. But the main advantage of the sacerdotal office was the personal dignity and social authority which its holder enjoyed. Homer describes a Trojan priest of the Homeric age as "honoured by the people as if he were a god;" and though in historical times the Greek *hiereus* hardly held so exalted

a position, there is no doubt that he was regarded as not merely the guardian of a temple, and as presiding over its sacrifices and rites, but as the interpreter of the will and disposition of the God manifested through oracles, dreams, and other mysterious signs, the meaning of which could only be communicated to the profane outside world through the authorised sacerdotal channel. Having alone access to the inner sanctuary or Holy of Holies of a deity, and being the exclusive possessors of the secrets connected with his worship, the priests regarded themselves as the mediators between their fellow-mortals and the God whom they served.

When pestilence or other manifestations of divine wrath smote their countrymen, the priests generally contrived to account for the calamity, and to prescribe some sacerdotal nostrum as a remedy. Certain crimes had been committed, certain laws of ritual had been violated, either by the generation then living or their ancestors, and the offended deity could only be appeased by specified expiatory offerings or acts. When a sacrifice took place, it was the business of the priests to note all the signs and incidents which were held to indicate the approval or disapproval of the deity to whom the offering was made; these portents and tokens formed a symbolical language which none but the ministers of the altar and the attendant soothsayers could rightly interpret, and through which they professed to read the future. Within their own hallowed precinct, the authority of the priests must have been very great, because they were armed with the power of excommunicating those who violated the local religious laws, and the imprecations which they could invoke against sacrilegious persons inspired a terror

which not even the philosophical sceptic could venture openly to defy, however secretly he may have sneered at pious frauds. In those temples which possessed the right of *asylum*, the priest seems to have exercised jurisdiction in the case of fugitive slaves who were reclaimed by their masters, but who could not be given up without his sanction.

In all the public festivals the priests had special posts of honour, and in the Dionysiac theatre at Athens may be seen to this day the chairs of the priests and priestesses of the Attic deities ranged co-ordinately with the seats assigned to the chief civil magistrates. On certain public occasions the priest or priestess assumed the costume and attributes of the divinity whom they served. The decrees of Rhodes and of several of the Doric colonies of Sicily show us that in these cities the eponymous magistrate was a priest. It was these peculiar honours and privileges which made the sacerdotal office a special object of ambition to the rich classes in the Greek republics. Nor was it at any time a part of democratic policy to discourage such ambition. The kind of influence which the office of priest could confer on a citizen was not thought to be politically dangerous, or likely to lead to any attack on the liberties of the people. On the other hand, the rich men chosen for these sacred offices had it in their power to gratify public feeling, and at the same time to show their own piety, by conducting the religious ceremonies and festivals with a pomp and splendour which would have been impossible, had they not largely contributed to the expenses out of their private means. Evidence of such devout and public-spirited munificence is to be found in those inscriptions in which priests and

priestesses are publicly honoured for certain extraordinary services and gifts.

Thus, an Athenian decree crowns the priest of Zeus Soter for his sacrifice in behalf of the senate and people, which he has performed with due honour and zeal. In an Athenian decree, to which I have already referred, the priest of Asklepios and Hygieia is allowed by the senate to inscribe his name as dedicator on the temple which he restores at his own expense.[81]

In an inscription from Aphrodisias in Karia, we find special honour given to Gaia, daughter of Diodoros, who is designated "the chaste priestess for life of the Goddess Herè, and Mother of the City," and who also twice held the office of Priestess of the Emperors, gave the entire people magnificent banquets, and supplied oil for the public baths in the most lavish manner; and it is especially mentioned in her praise that in the dramatic contests she first introduced music so new and attractive that it drew all the neighbouring cities to take part in these entertainments.[82]

M. Foucart has recently published a Mantinean inscription in which Phaena, a priestess of Demeter, is honoured for the extraordinary zeal and munificence for which she was distinguished both before and after the term of her office. The decree in her honour is drawn up in the name of a synod or college of priestesses of Demeter, of which college Phaena was doubtless a member.

The decree recounts the sumptuous munificence with which she performed all the liturgies required during her term of office, the magnificent banquets with which she entertained her sister priestesses, the endowment which

she settled on their college, and which she made a permanent charge on her estate after death. In reward for all this pious liberality it is decreed that Phaena is to be invited to all the sacrifices and festivals held in honour of the Goddess, and this honorary decree is to be engraved on a marble *stelè*.[83]

It appears from a decree of the city of Ilium that a priest presented to the city a gift of 15,000 drachmæ, about £600, out of the interest of which a yearly sacrifice was to be provided.[84] These inscriptions in honour of priests become more frequent during the Roman Empire, and we learn from them that it had then become common for the priesthoods of several temples to be held by the same person. There appears to be no evidence of such pluralism in the earlier republican period.

Besides the *hiereus* or priest, and the *hiereia* or priestess, we find attached to Greek temples a variety of ministers whose offices are indicated by their names. Thus, the hierophant was the priest who in the Eleusinian rites revealed the mysteries to the initiated; the *daduchos* bore the sacred torch in the same worship; the *kleidophoros* was the bearer of the Key in the rites of Hekatè; the *hierokeryx*, a title retained to this day in the Eastern Church, was specially charged with making proclamations and announcements in reference to the order of the rites. The *loutrophoros* and the *hydrophoros* were the bearers of sacred water used in the ritual. The *kosmeteira* was, as her name implies, the mistress of the robes or tirewoman of the Goddess whom she served, and it was her business to superintend the dress and ornaments with which the sacred image was adorned. The

neokoros, a term which originally meant the sweeper out of the temple, became in course of centuries a sacerdotal title of the highest distinction, as we know by the evidence of coins and inscriptions in Asia Minor. In temples where there was an oracle, the will of the God was declared by certain priests or priestesses, to whom the title of *mantis* or *prophetes* was given. The *prophetes* was not a prophet in our sense, but the functionary speaking in the name and authority of the God.

The persons who professed the science of divination (*mantikè*), and who were the interpreters of oracles, dreams, omens, and other means of prognosticating future events, were sometimes attached to temples, but oftener exercised the calling of soothsayer independently. In many cases the gift of prophecy was held to be hereditary. The influence of these diviners (*manteis*) was probably quite as great, if not greater than that of the priests, and if I only notice this class of religious functionaries with a passing allusion, it is because there are very few inscriptions which throw any light on their proceedings and authority.

A curious Ephesian fragment relative to divination by the flight of birds is given in Böckh,[85] and a few oracles written in doggrel hexameters are preserved in inscriptions. Others, graven on plates of lead, have been found at Dodona in the recent excavations there by M. Carapano, and are published in the splendid work on his discoveries lately issued.[86]

The sacred functionaries probably multiplied in proportion as the wealth of the temples and the fame of their worship grew, and accordingly we find from inscriptions that time-honoured and celebrated shrines

such as that of Ephesos or Eleusis were ministered to by a variety of functionaries. And here the question arises —Were these functionaries co-ordinate, or in what manner were they organised? On this point we have very scanty information. At Eleusis the hierophant chosen from the ancient family of Eumolpidæ was certainly the chief priest, and next to him probably ranked the *daduchos*, who carried the torch in the mysteries, wearing a purple robe and a myrtle crown. The *hierophantis* or female hierophant at Eleusis, who was also chosen from a sacerdotal family, was also a great personage. On the base of the statue of one of these priestesses found at Eleusis is an inscription in which she thus addresses all future generations. "I am the mother of Marcianus, the daughter of Demetrius; let no one utter my name which, when severed from the world by becoming *hierophantis*, I hid in inaccessible depths. I have not initiated the sons of Leda, nor Herakles, but the ruler of the world, Hadrian, who has poured so much wealth on Athens." This emperor was admitted to the novitiate in the Eleusinian mysteries A.D. 125, and to the final initiation in A.D. 135.[87]

At Eleusis, at Delphi, at Ephesos, and other celebrated seats of worship, there must have been a local hierarchy, and it is to be presumed that the priest of highest rank had a certain authority over the others; but whether these ministers formed a kind of sacred college over which a high priest presided, or whether all differences between them were referred to such a magistrate as the *basileus archon*, are points about which we have no sure knowledge. In some of the Asiatic sacred communities, such as Strabo describes at both the Komanas and at

Zela, the high priest may have been invested with theocratic authority, and in Roman times the title of *archiereus* appears in various cities of Asia Minor. Sometimes this title is given to the president of a college of priests, sometimes it is assumed by the minister of a dominant cult. It was probably the policy of the Romans to encourage centralisation in the religious organisation of their provinces, and the titles "*Archiereus* of Asia" and Asiarch were probably introduced by them into Asia Minor.

I have as yet only noticed the higher ranks of the sacerdotal order. But we find in inscriptions mention of *diakoni*, whence our word "deacon," who were certainly a lower grade of the priesthood, and it is obvious that many offices of a purely menial nature, such as the hewing of wood and drawing of water, must have been required in temples. Hence it was that slaves were in many cases dedicated to the service of a divinity, and were consequently called *hierodouli*. In the temple of Apollo at Delphi was a host of such slaves, whose ranks were recruited from prisoners of war, and whose condition was very superior to that of ordinary slaves. Such hierodules formed a large part of the population of the sacred island of Delos. We are enabled by the evidence of inscriptions to distinguish two forms by which a slave was dedicated to the service of a divinity, and which both amounted to enfranchisement subject to certain conditions. According to the first of these forms the master dedicated the slave to the God, and released him from all future liability to servitude; but in order to give this release a due guarantee, the newly enfranchised slave was placed

henceforth under the protection of the priest of the temple and of the local magistrates, who were bound to punish with a fine any attempt to deprive him of his liberty. This form of dedication occurs in inscriptions from the temples of Sarapis at Orchomenos, Chæronea and Coronea in Bœotia, in that of Athenè Polias at Daulis, and that of Asklepios at Stiris.[88]

The other mode of enfranchisement was by a solemn act of sale, by which the ownership of the slave was transferred to a God on payment of a sum of money, which was in fact the ransom of the slave, and which he had to provide for himself.

About five hundred inscriptions relating to this mode of enfranchisement have been discovered at Delphi, and from these we obtain very curious information as to the form of this sale. The master, accompanied by his slave, presented himself before the temple of Apollo at the principal entrance. There the two priests of the God met him to receive the slave, and, in the presence of three senators and of a certain number of witnesses, handed over the purchase money to the master. The transaction was not a simple act of sale, but was fenced round with many conditions. The seller had to furnish one or more sureties (*bebaioteres*), who undertook to maintain the validity of the sale and to defend the slave against all who sought to deprive him of his liberty. If the seller or his sureties failed to fulfil this guarantee, an action might be brought against them in the name of the God, and they were liable, if condemned, to pay a fine equal to the price of the slave and half as much again. The deed of sale, after having been duly certified by the priests, senators, and other attesting witnesses, was

handed over to the custody of a citizen designated for that purpose in the deed, and a copy of it was engraved on the walls of the temple. Under the protection of this instrument the person of the enfranchised slave was safe from all attempt to reduce him back to slavery; he had a right to resist any such attempt by force, and to invoke the aid of any bystander, nor would any legal liability be incurred by such interference, which was regarded as having the direct authority of the God himself.

While the slave was thus protected, we find associated with this form of enfranchisement certain provisions which were made in the interest of the master. The boon of liberty was not an absolute but a conditional grant. The master, while selling the ownership of his slave to Apollo, often reserved for himself the right of his services for a term of years or for his own life, or even might bequeath such a right to another person after his demise. During this period of service the slave, though sold to the God, was still obliged to execute the orders of his master, who could, in moderation, chastise him for disobedience, but could not sell him to another person.

The particular duties which had to be performed during these years of mitigated servitude are sometimes specified in the instrument of enfranchisement. It is stipulated in the case of one slave that he must accompany his master on a voyage to Egypt; another has to educate two children; another, the slave of a physician, has to assist his master in his calling for five years; but what is especially insisted on as a duty is the care of the master in his old age and due attention to his funeral rites. If the slave declined to serve out

his time of bondage, he was bound to find a substitute, or to redeem his liberty by another payment. Another stipulation which we find in these deeds of sale was the right reserved by the master to inherit the slave's property, and sometimes this claim is continued into the second generation, if the children of the slave die without issue. Unless all the conditions specified in the deed of sale were scrupulously fulfilled, the enfranchisement was void. As disputes on these points between master and slave were likely to occur, a tribunal of three arbitrators was appointed, to which both parties could appeal.[89]

In the preceding remarks on the temples of the Greeks and their establishments of priests and other ministers, I have taken first in order those in which the public worship of the State was carried on. But there were many other temples and sanctuaries which were endowed and maintained by private citizens or by religious associations, and which had their establishments of priests paid out of the revenues of sacred estates. Sometimes these pious investments were made under the direction of an oracle, sometimes at the promptings of a dream, or in honour of the dead. We have a familiar example of such a private endowment in the case of Xenophon, who devoted the tenth of certain spoil gained in war to the purchase of an estate in Lakonia, on which he built a temple in honour of the Ephesian Artemis, surrounded by a forest full of wild animals. The condition on which the tenant held the sacred land round this temple was that he was every year to devote the tenth of its produce to a great festival in honour of Artemis, to which the

neighbours round about were invited, and also to keep the temple in repair.

In an inscription from Santorin, commonly known as the will of Epikteta, the conditions under which the endowment is made are very fully and clearly stated. Phœnix, the husband of Epikteta, dedicated a temple to the Muses in memory of a son whom they had lost. Epikteta, becoming a widow and losing another son, erected sculptures and sepulchral shrines (*heroa*) in memory of her husband and children, and bequeathed 3000 drachmæ, about £120, in trust for pious uses. This sum of 3000 drachmæ is chargeable on certain specified real property of Epikteta. The temple of the Muses and the sacred precinct in which stood the *heroa* in memory of her husband and sons she bequeaths to her daughter Epiteleia, on the following tenure: she is to pay every year 210 drachmæ, rather more than £8, to the trustees of the endowment, who are described as the "Society of Kinsfolk;" these trustees are to take care that the *mouseion* and sacred precinct are never sold or mortgaged; no buildings are to be erected on the sacred ground, except a portico, nor is this precinct ever to be lent to any one, except on the occasion of the nuptials of any descendant of Epiteleia. The son of this daughter is appointed to the first priesthood of the Muses and heroes, and the succession to what we would venture to call the advowson is entailed on her eldest male descendant forever. Every year the "Society of Kinsfolk" is to meet in the *mouseion* at a fixed time, when the rent of 210 drachmæ is to be paid to them. The society is then to appoint three of its members to preside over certain sacrifices which are to

be offered to the Muses and heroes on particular days, on which occasion there is to be a public banquet. The latter part of the inscription contains a number of minute provisions as to the time and nature of the sacrifices, the organisation of the society, the accounts and archives of the trust, etc.[90]

We see from this curious document how intimately religious observances were blended with social enjoyment among the Greeks. The object which Epikteta had mainly in view was to show due reverence for the dead by instituting solemn rites in their honour. For this end the ground on which their monuments stood was dedicated forever to pious uses, and an additional sanctity imparted to it by associating the worship of the dead with the cult of the Muses. But the rites with which these two cults were periodically celebrated had a convivial character, and the assembling of the society of kinsmen must have been a pleasant social gathering, while it fulfilled at the same time a religious obligation. The society thus founded by Epikteta very closely resembled those religious corporations called *thiasi* and *erani*, of which we have learned so much in recent years from inscriptions, and which have been so ably treated by M. Foucart in his *Associations religieuses chez les Grecs*. These corporations were severally devoted to the worship of some particular divinity. Their members held assemblies in which they passed decrees regulating all the details of their worship. They appointed priests and other sacred officers, they levied fines, and could proceed against defaulting or disobedient members before the ordinary legal tribunals, provided there was nothing in their decrees which militated against the laws of the

State. Out of the funds bestowed by the pious founders and subsequent benefactors of these associations temples were built and priesthoods were endowed, and in their decrees we find recorded the names of those by whose munificence the sacred edifices were repaired and the festivals celebrated with becoming dignity. These decrees moreover give much curious information in reference to the election and duties of the priests and other officers of the societies. In all of them we find a system of management very similar to that by which the temples belonging to the State were administered. The priests, treasurers, and other officers are appointed by election, and their proceedings are subjected to the scrutiny and control of the popular assembly, which is the ultimate source of all their authority. The form of the decrees passed by this assembly is modelled on that of the decrees of the State passed by the *ekklesia*. The due execution of these ordinances is enforced by heavy fines, and special penalties are directed against those who attempt to change the fundamental laws of the society.

The deities to the worship of which the *thiasi* were devoted were for the most part foreign to the States in which these societies were established. At Athens after the Persian war the concourse of strangers caused by the development of a great maritime empire and the increase of commerce led to the importation of various foreign deities. These exotic cults did not become an integral part of the State religion; they simply were allowed to obtain a footing through the agency of the *thiasi*. The evidence of inscriptions shows us very clearly the manner in which this was done. Thus, B.C. 333, the merchants of Kition resident at Athens petition the senate to be

allowed a site on which to found a temple to Aphrodite; and this petition is granted by a decree of the Athenian people, who had previously given a similar permission to certain Egyptians to dedicate a temple to Isis.[91]

In the second century B.C. the Tyrian merchants established at Delos in like manner petitioned the Athenian people for permission to erect in that island a sanctuary in honour of their god, Baal Marcod.[92] The worship of the Karian deity, Zeus Labraundeus, was probably introduced at Athens by a similar authorisation.

In the second century A.D., a Lycian slave called Xanthos, employed in the silver mines of Laurion by a Roman master, founded a sanctuary in honour of a lunar deity called Men Tyrannos, whose worship prevailed extensively in Asia Minor during the Roman Empire. This slave seems to have been too poor to build a temple himself, but was obliged to content himself with a deserted *heroon* which he adapted to the new worship. The inscription declares what persons were disqualified by contact with forbidden things from entering the sacred precinct, and how many days' quarantine will clear them from pollution; but the rules laid down are not promulgated in the form of a decree, nor by the authority of any public assembly, but by the *ipse dixit* of the founder himself. He invites other qualified and piously disposed persons to form an *eranos* and take part in the sacrifices to Men Tyrannos, but it would appear that as yet no administrative body had been organised such as we find evidence of in the inscriptions relating to *thiasi* which I have already referred to.[93]

As M. Foucart justly remarks, the inscription relating to the worship of Men Tyrannos is particularly interest-

ing as showing us the germ out of which a religious association might spring. That a slave should be capable of founding an *eranos* need not surprise us if we bear in mind that in such religious associations members seem to have been freely admitted without reference to their grade or country, provided they complied with the rules of the guild.

Besides the ordinary periodical sacrifices in the temples and those from time to time contributed by individuals, there were certain great offerings on the occasion of the public festivals or some other extraordinary occasion. The nature, cost, and order of these ordinary and extraordinary sacrifices were regulated by decrees of the *ekklesia*. I have already referred to the fragments of calendars in which the victims to be offered to certain Gods on certain days are carefully noted. There are also extant several inscriptions which relate to the sacrifices at great public festivals. A decree relating to the Athenian Panathenæa orders that at that festival the magistrates called *hieropoioi*, whose special function it was to manage the commissariat of sacrifices, are to purchase from the proper contractors the cattle which are required as victims, and for this purchase a sum of 41 minæ, about £164, is provided. All this live stock is to be carefully chosen, as the Gods objected very strongly to animals who had any blemish. The victims are then to be conducted in solemn procession to the great altar of Athenè Polias, to whom and to Nikè they are to be sacrificed. Afterwards the meat is to be distributed to the citizens assembled for worship in the Akropolis, according to their *demes*, each member of the *demos* having his allotted share. The sum of 50

drachmæ, £2, is to be provided for the expenses of the procession, the cooking, the fuel for the great altar, and the nightly ceremony called the Pannychis. The procession is to start at sunrise.[94]

A Delian inscription gives us the following items of the cost of one of these great festivals about B.C. 374: For 109 oxen 8419 drachmæ, rather more than £336. For gilding their horns (an operation described in a well-known passage in Homer), 121 drachmæ. The price of these oxen at Delos was therefore at the rate of 77¼ drachmæ, rather more than £3 per beast, while at Athens a few years earlier, about B.C. 410, oxen for sacrifice cost only 51 drachmæ, about £2 each. But at Delos there was probably an additional charge for freight and custom dues, as the island was so barren that stock could hardly have been fattened on it.[95] Sometimes prize oxen were sent to be sacrificed; we learn from an inscription that one of these prize oxen at Delphi cost 300 Attic drachmæ, £12, and Jason, the tyrant of Pheræ, rewarded with a gold wreath the city which contributed the finest ox to the Pythian festivals.[96] As we reserve our fattest beef for the festivities of Christmas, so doubtless the ancients made their great festivities in some sort cattle shows, and the *bœuf gras* annually paraded through Paris on Shrove Tuesday seems a reminiscence of the *Bous Hegemon* or *Bous heros* who was exhibited in the ancient festival, and who, while he was a token of the piety and wealth of the city by whom he was offered, was at the same time a source of legitimate worldly profit to the enterprising grazier by whom he had been reared, and who was thus encouraged to improve to the utmost the breed of cattle in Greece.

The piety of the ancients found its utterance, not only in sacrifices, but in hymns in honour of the deities. Of these religious poems some beautiful specimens are extant in the collection of hymns commonly called Homeric, and we have one composed at a later period by Kallimachos. If the hymns actually chanted in the ordinary Greek worship resembled these, they must have been derived rather from poetical inspiration than from hieratic tradition. But probably each temple had its own peculiar hymns, and some of these may have been handed down from remote antiquity, and may have preserved ancient liturgical formulæ. In an inscription published by Böckh three hymns are engraved on the same marble, that of Ariphron to the goddess of Health, Hygieia, which has been preserved to us in Athenæus, and two anonymous hymns, one to Asklepios, the other to Telesphoros, both very dreary specimens of the lyric poetry of the third century, A D.[97] The hymn to Isis published by Lebas, under Andros, is equally unattractive as poetry.[98]

All through the period of Greek civilisation the training of choruses for the chanting of hymns at the festivals was accounted one of the religious obligations of the State. A decree of Stratonikea in Karia, of the second century A.D.,[99] shows us how carefully this part of the public worship was then provided for. The preamble of this decree sets forth how the tutelary deities of the city, Zeus Panamerios and Hekatè, have in times past saved it from many perils, and how, therefore, it is the duty of the city to lose no opportunity of showing its piety and devotion. The statues of these deities, the decree goes on to say, are in the

senate house, where their presence is constantly inviting the people to acts of devotion and stimulating their religious fervour. The senate accordingly orders that thirty boys of good family be chosen as chorus. These are to be brought to the senate house under the charge of the *paidonomos* and the *paidophylakes*, the officers who had the charge and training of youth. There, clad in white, crowned with wreaths, and bearing in their hands branches of laurel, they are to recite a hymn which is to be accompanied by the lyre, and which is to be selected by the secretary (*grammateus*) of the senate. When any of these boys are enrolled among the *ephebi*, or if, which may none of the Gods cause, any should die before attaining manhood, others are to be chosen in their stead on a report from the *paidonomos* and the *paidophylakes*. Boys who are ill or kept at home by domestic sorrow are to be exempt from attendance. To make the law more stringent, it is added that, if any of these regulations are neglected, the archons and the *paidonomos* will be liable to a charge of impiety, and the *paidophylakes* to imprisonment. Besides ordering this daily choral service the decree empowers the *hiereus* of Hekatè to select every year a chorus of boys from the suburb round the temple of that Goddess, who are to sing the hymn in her honour, as has been the custom. In case of any irregularity in the attendance of these choristers the *hiereus* is empowered to punish the fathers by indictment, or in any other way which he prefers. Failing in this duty, the priest is to incur the same penalties as the boys.

As has been already stated, all the public ritual in a

Greek city was absolutely fixed by laws passed in the popular assembly. Thus it was the *dogma* of the *ekklesia* which settled the ritual; but this *dogma* was certainly not ecclesiastical in our sense, but emanated from the supreme will of the sovereign people. These decrees, judging from the few specimens which remain, were drawn up with a perspicuous minuteness of provisions and a sternness of purpose which could hardly have left room for recalcitrant dissent or quibbling evasion. I would here invite attention to the most complete of these documents—the inscription from Andania in Messenia, which records a law regulating the celebration of certain mysteries in honour of the twin gods called Kabiri. This document contains a variety of minute enactments, of which the following are the most important. The mystery (*teletè*) is to be celebrated by a body of male and female votaries chosen by lot out of the tribes of the city, and designated *hieri* or *hieræ* according to their sex. These celebrants are to swear that they will conduct the mystery in a reverent and proper manner and in conformity with the written ritual or rubric. Any *hieros* who refuses to take this oath is to pay a fine of 1000 drachmæ, about £40, and another is to be chosen in his room out of the same tribe. The ladies (*hieræ*), who are associated with the *hieri* as celebrants, are to swear the same oath, with the additional clause that they have been faithful to their husbands. Any lady declining to take this oath is to be fined 1000 drachmæ, and to be excluded from the mysteries and sacrifices.

During the festival the *hieri* are charged with the custody of the sacred books and of the ark in which they

are kept. These sacred books doubtless contained the ritual; such must have been the writings which, as Pausanias tells us, were read at the solemn gathering of Mystæ at Pheneos in Arcadia. So in Apuleius the priest of Isis takes books out of the Holy of Holies to read out the rubric.[100] Next come very stringent directions as to the vestments to be worn during the festival. The ladies are not to wear transparent garments or stripes wider than half an inch. The married women are to wear the *kalaseris,* a kind of tunic introduced from Egypt, and a mantle, the cost of which must not exceed two *minæ.* The dress of the maidens must not exceed in cost half this amount. The male votaries are to wear laurel wreaths, the women a white hat. Their faces must not be painted, they must wear no gold ornaments, their shoes must be either of felt or of the skins of victims. In order to insure the observance of these and other minute regulations, an officer duly sworn is appointed, whose special duty is to keep the ladies in order, and who is hence called the *gynaikonomos.* He it is who sees that they are attired according to the rubric, and who determines by lot the place of each in the procession, and, in case their attire is not perfectly *en règle,* has the power of confiscating it and dedicating it to the gods. Next come rules as to the order of the procession, which was a necessary part of most, if not of all, religious festivals. This *pompè,* as the Greeks called it, is to be headed by a certain Mnasistratos, who, though the inscription does not assign to him any sacerdotal title, is evidently a personage of very great importance. It is from him that the *hieri* received the sacred books and the casket or ark which contained them; he

participated with them in the sacrifices and in the mysteries; the fountain named Hagna in the Sacred Books, and the statue near it, are placed under his perpetual custody. He is entitled to one-third of the money offered by the visitors to the treasury of the fountain, and the skins of the victims sacrificed at this fountain were his perquisite. A gold crown of the value of 6000 drachmæ, about £240, was conferred on him by the city. It seems probable that Mnasistratos owed these marked distinctions to his having recovered a copy of the sacred books in which the ritual of the mysteries was inscribed. Pausanias relates how, on the revival of similar rites in Messenia by Epaminondas and Epiteles, they were directed by a dream to the spot where the sacred books relating to them had been buried centuries before by the ancient Messenian hero Aristomenes. They were found engraved on thin rolls of tin and packed in a vase which was concealed in the earth.

Next after Mnasistratos in the procession come the priest and the priestess of the deities in honour of whom the mysteries are held; then the president of the games (*agonothetes*); the ministers of the sacrifices and the (*hierothytæ*), and the flute-players. After these come the sacred virgins conducting the cars on which are placed the arks (*kistæ*) which contain the sacred mysteries; then other priestesses connected with the worship of Demeter. Then follow the *hieræ*, one by one, according to lot, and the *hieri*. The victims are also led in procession. The great multitude assembled at this festival dwelt in tents or booths. The dimensions of these tents must not be more than thirty feet square, nor may they be hung round with leather or

tapestry. The ground to be occupied by the *hieri* is to be fenced off, and they only are to pitch tents within this precinct. No uninitiated person is to enter the precinct thus marked off. No one is allowed couches in their tent or silver plate of a greater value than 300 drachmæ, about £12. Articles in excess of this amount are to be confiscated to the Gods. When the sacrifices and mysteries are performed, due and reverent silence is to be kept; any one disturbing the proceedings is to be scourged and excluded from the mysteries. These scourgings are to be executed by the *rhabdophori*, a body of twenty vergers or beadles chosen from among the *hieri*.

All the financial arrangements of the festival are to be managed by five commissioners appointed by the *demos*. No person is eligible for this responsible office whose fortune is rated at less than a talent. At their election a note is to be made of this, and also of the amount of fortune of those by whom they are proposed. The commissioners are to receive all moneys accruing from the festival, and very stringent regulations are laid down for the auditing of their accounts. If convicted of embezzlement, they are to pay double the amount in default and a fine besides of 1000 drachmæ, £40, which the tribunal has no power to mitigate. Any balance that may remain after defraying the expenses of the festival is to go to the treasury of the State.

The next provision of the law is in regard to the victims to be offered. The sacrifices were on a great scale. Before the commencement of the mysteries two white lambs had to be furnished; for the purification, a ram of the right colour; for the purification in the theatre three little pigs; for the *protomystæ*, one hundred lambs. In

the procession a pregnant sow to Demeter, a two-year-old pig to the Great Gods, a ram to Hermes, a boar to Apollo Karneios, a sheep to Hagna. The *hieri* on taking office are to invite tenders for the supply of these victims, and are to give the contract to the lowest bidder. The contractor must find proper sureties for the due execution of this contract. He must produce victims sound and without blemish, and these must be inspected by the *hieri* ten days before the mysteries. After the inspection these animals are to be marked by the *hieri*, in order that they may not be afterwards changed by the contractor. If the contractor fail to produce the victims for examination at the appointed time, his sureties are to forfeit the price agreed on and half as much again, and the *hieri* are to purchase victims with the money so forfeited. In order that the music required in the sacrifices and mysteries should be duly performed, the *hieri* are to enrol in a register every year the names of those skilled performers on the flute and lyre who undertake to play in the festival, and who evidently formed here, as at Eleusis, a guild or corporation with peculiar privileges.

Any one convicted of theft or any other crime during the mysteries is to be judged by the *hieri*. A free man must repay double what he had stolen ; a slave must not only make good this amount, but have a flogging in addition. The same marked distinction between the slave and the free man is observed in the punishment enacted for those who cut wood in the sacred precinct.

Within this precinct was a sanctuary in which fugitive slaves were allowed to take refuge, as was the case in many Greek temples. In all cases when the run-

away belongs to Andania, the *hiereus* is to decide whether he is to be restored to his master or not, but no other person is to give these fugitives shelter or food.

After the victims have been sacrificed, the portions not allotted to the Gods are to be consumed in the sacred banquet, which the *hieri* are to celebrate with the *hieræ* and the virgins. To this banquet are to be invited the priest and priestesses of the Great Gods, the priestess of the Karneion, Mnasistratos with his wife and children, the musicians who performed in the festival, and the subordinate assistants who took part in conducting it. The cost of the banquet is not to exceed a certain sum, for which a blank space is left in the text. It is to be presumed that the amount had not been settled when the law was engraved on the marble.

So great a concourse of people would of course require a market. This is to be held in a place appointed by the *hieri*, and the *agoranomos* of the city is to take care that the merchants give good weight and measure, according to the standards of the city, and that no charge is levied on them for the ground. They are free to sell at their own price. The *agoranomos* is, moreover, to take care that no one injure the conduits for the supply of water in the *hieron*. He is also to superintend the service of the public baths. No one is to be charged more than two copper coins for a bath. The fuel is to be supplied by contract, and a sufficient heat is to be maintained. No slave is to be allowed to anoint himself with oil.

At the close of the festival the *hieri* are to send in a report of all their proceedings to the *prytaneion*, which, like a modern *hôtel de ville*, was the bureaucratic centre

of the city; they are also to register on the walls of the building in the *hieron* the names of all transgressors whom they have punished. All through this law the *hieri* are referred to as the persons charged to conduct the festival. But in order to insure prompt and concerted action, magistrates of the city are to nominate for election an executive committee of ten, who are to be chosen from the same rank as the *hieri*, and who are to select the *rhabdophori* and the mystagogues. This committee has power to convene an assembly of *hieri* on important matters which are to be decided by the vote of the majority. Minute as are the provisions of this law, the possibility of oversight and omission is not lost sight of in its concluding clause, which enacts that all such contingent defects are to be referred to a council called *synedri*, which appears to have served as a permanent board of control in reference to the management of the mysteries. This council is empowered to supplement any oversight in the law, but no such supplementary legislation is to be valid if it contain anything detrimental to the mysteries. This Andanian inscription is the longest and the most complete extant specimen of the laws relating to Greek ritual. It has been carefully edited and commented on by M. Sauppe, and subsequently by M. Foucart, to whom I am indebted for this abstract of it.[101] The date of the decree is fixed to the year 91 B.C. The mysteries to which it relates were held in honour of the Samothracian Kabiri, called in the text the Great Gods, and with their worship were associated Demeter, the tutelary deity of Messenia; Apollo Karneios, in whose grove the mysteries were celebrated; Hermes, whose statue bearing a ram on his

shoulders was seen in this grove by Pausanias nearly three centuries after the date of the decree, and a local deity, Hagna, "the pure one," whose statue stood beside a fountain, and who was probably a local nymph, the personification of the fountain itself. These Andanian mysteries were, according to Pausanias, of remote antiquity, and, after having been interrupted by the Lacedæmonian conquest of Messenia, had been revived by Epaminondas when Messene was rebuilt. It would seem, however, by the evidence of this decree, that there had been a second suspension of the mysteries after the age of Epaminondas, probably due to the troublous times which followed. The decree which reinstitutes the festival was passed after the Romans had established a new order of things in the Peloponnese, and imposed on the cities of the Achæan League constitutions which transferred political power from the people to the richer classes. This timocratic bias is very evident in the decree.

In the neighbouring territory of Arcadia was a temple dedicated to the Dioskouri, Demeter, and Persephonè or Korè, where certain ceremonies called *koragia* were celebrated by a sacred college called the *koragi*. The members of this college undertook in turn the expense of celebrating the annual festival, but in one particular year no one could be found to fill this office. In this emergency a lady of illustrious birth, Nikippè, the daughter of Pasias, came forward and voluntarily took upon herself this function. The decree passed in her honour acquaints us with some very curious details of the ceremonial.[102] First took place a procession and sacrifice in honour of the goddess Korè; then came the sacred banquet; after these preliminary ceremonies

came the mysteries in which there was a quasi-dramatic representation of the return of Persephonè from Hades. The statue of the Goddess attired in a new veil was then carried through the city, and invited into the house of a mortal, who was supposed on this occasion to welcome and entertain the divine guest on her return from the nether region, after which the statue was taken back to the temple. On this occasion Nikippè was the hostess of the Goddess, and conducted the whole festival with a sumptuous magnificence and with an earnest zeal and piety which entitled her to the special honours granted in the decree. This seems to be the same Nikippè whose name Pausanias saw on the base of a statue of Aphroditè Symmachia at Mantinea which she had dedicated after the battle of Actium. The date of the decree is B.C. 61. If the same Nikippè erected the statue seen by Pausanias, she must have been living thirty years after she celebrated the *koragia*. It may be noted that the service she performed in reference to these mysteries is called in the inscription *leitourgia*, in the original sense of the word. The Greek liturgies were not, like our liturgy, set forms of religious worship mostly consisting of prayers, but public charges voluntarily undertaken by rich and aristocratic citizens, or imposed on them by law.

I have given these two inscriptions as samples of the class to which they belong. Many other decrees relating to ritual are to be found in Böckh and later epigraphical collections, which in the Heortologie of August Mommsen, and in other recent works, have been skilfully combined with scattered notices in ancient authors, and especially with those in Hesychius and his fellow lexicographers. Since Meursius two centuries ago published his *Græcia*

Feriata, great progress has been made in this branch of Archæology, and as with the new light thrown by inscriptions and other monuments we study Greek life in its festive aspect, we are struck more and more with the mixture of devout earnestness and genial sociability which is the characteristic of their religion in its best time. It was probably because their festivals had so strongly marked a religious character that they were so little marred, either by riot and disorder, or by morose asceticism. The remark of Froissart on the English of the fourteenth century that "ils s'amusent tristement" could never have been applied to the holiday of an ancient Greek. Their great festivals were arranged so as to minister to many tastes and sentiments; the enjoyment was general, and shared not only by all grades of citizens, but by many aliens and strangers. But this was not all. In the conception of the Greeks, the tutelary Gods of the city were themselves present at the festival; the altar at which victims were offered was, as it were, the high table at which the Gods dined; the prime joints and choice dainties, which were practically the perquisites of the priests, were theoretically reserved for those divine guests whose portions their ministers ate vicariously; and the sacred banquet provided for the mortal worshippers was but the sequel and echo of this divine entertainment. The strength of this belief would perhaps in itself have been sufficient to prevent a festival from degenerating into an unseemly riot, but behind the religious sentiment lurked the terror of the law. Graven on the walls of the temple and on pillars in the sacred precinct was the stern rubric denouncing all brawlers and sacrilegious persons, and a police armed with special

powers by the State was ever at hand to arrest offenders and punish them summarily, while graver cases of impiety were referred to a tribunal which, like the Inquisition, struck fearlessly and relentlessly, and sometimes chose for its victims the most conspicuous personages in the State.

The religious festivals of the Greeks, with all their splendid pageantry of processions and sacrifices, have vanished from the living world, but we can form some idea of their effect on the eye by studying the frieze of the Parthenon, where we see represented the Panathenaic procession with its escort of cavalry, its long files of musicians, victims, and bearers of sacred vessels, its priests, magistrates, and marshals, all moving onward towards the centre of the Eastern front, where groups of solemn seated figures typify the actual presence of the Attic deities at this great festival; and if, with this beautiful sculptural composition before us, we turn to the vivid and graphic descriptions of religious processions in two Greek romances, the Ephesiaca of Xenophon, and the Æthiopica of Heliodoros, we may picture to ourselves the gorgeous magnificence of such festivals celebrated under an Eastern sky and in an ever-genial climate.

But let us now turn from these ephemeral and evanescent manifestations of Greek piety to its more permanent memorials: I mean those inscriptions which record dedications to the gods or heroes. The objects so dedicated, called by the Greeks *anathemata*, were very various in kind. Not only temples, but many other public buildings, were inscribed with a dedication to some deity, and this was the case too with the sacrificial vessels and other furniture of a temple.

The triumphs of war were commemorated by the dedication of armour and other trophies, and the victor in the public games showed his gratitude to the gods by consecrating to them sometimes the tripod or crown which he had won by his personal prowess, sometimes a statue of himself or of the horses whose fleetness had given him the prize in the race. On the other hand any one convicted of foul play in any of the agonistic contests at Olympia had to pay a heavy fine, and out of the proceeds of those fines bronze statues were dedicated to the Olympian Zeus, with an inscription recording the name and transgression of the offender. The convalescent patient who had owed his cure to Æsculapius dedicated a model of the limb or part of the body which had required medical treatment, the shipwrecked mariner hung up a picture of his escape from drowning in the temple of Poseidon. The evil-doer relieved his guilty conscience by an expiatory offering, which often took the form of a work of art. While the critical incidents in the life of the individual furnished occasions and motives for dedications, the articles which from long association had been endeared to the owner, such as garments or the implements of a trade, were often finally consecrated in temples as relics worthy to be consigned to the sure custody of the Gods. In the epigrams of the Anthology we find many examples of such humble offerings, and among the inscriptions from the Athenian Akropolis is a long list of female garments dedicated to Artemis Brauronia. The objects thus hallowed were distinguished by inscriptions, sometimes placed on the objects themselves, sometimes graven on their bases or written on labels, and these inscriptions contained, not only the

name of the dedicator and of the God to whom the offering was made, but, in the case of works of art, the name of the sculptor or painter whose handiwork was thus consecrated. To these particulars was often added the motive or incident which led to the dedication.

Thus it came to pass that in the course of ages an ancient temple became a Museum of Art and Archæology, where, in the latter days of Paganism, the palæographer might trace the progress of the art of writing from the earliest Kadmean specimens; the historian of art might gather materials for the classification of sculptors and painters according to schools, and the cultivated tourist might gratify his curiosity by examining relics which local tradition attributed to the heroic age, or weapons and armour wrested from "the flying Mede" at Marathon or Salamis; even the progress of the industrial arts from century to century might be traced by examining minutely the implements and objects fashioned by the hand of man in a range of time which, in the case of some temples, may be calculated as not less than a thousand years. As these votive inscriptions or *epigrammata* multiplied in the course of ages, they became an object of interest to the polyhistoric students of the ancient world, and certain industrious Greek archæologists, such as Polemo and Philochoros, took the trouble to transcribe and publish collections of these epigrams, gathered from the ample stores of Athens, Delphi, and other celebrated cities. Some few, too, are preserved by Pausanias, whose account of the *donaria* at Olympia is the more precious, as its accuracy has been so strikingly confirmed by recent discoveries there; for, though the statues and other works of art which he

describes have, it is to be feared, for the most part perished, the marble pedestals with their dedicatory inscriptions have been found in many cases not only intact, but in their original positions. Of this incalculable wealth of votive epigrams the portion as yet rescued from the wreck of the ancient world would have appeared insignificant to Pausanias or to that Polemo whose indefatigable diligence earned him the title of *Stelokopas*; but to us these few *tabulæ ex naufragio* are much. If we have not the sabre of Mardonios takén at Marathon, or the silver-footed throne on which Xerxes sat at Salamis, both of which were once dedicated in the Akropolis at Athens, we may still see in the Hippodrome at Constantinople the bronze serpent dedicated at Delphi by the allied Greeks after the victory of Platæa. If again we have not the colossal bronze statue of Zeus, and the three linen breast-plates dedicated at Olympia by Gelon of Syracuse in gratitude for his victory over the Carthaginians B.C. 480, we have in the British Museum the helmet which once crowned the trophy offered to the Olympian Zeus by Hiero, the brother of Gelon, after defeating the Tyrrhenians B.C. 474. Time has also been pleased to spare us the dedication on marble of the temple of Athene Polias at Prienè by Alexander the Great, and in the ruins of the Egyptian Kanopos was found a little gold plate which records the consecration of a *temenos* to Osiris by Ptolemy Euergetes the First and his queen Berenike.[103] Scattered through Greece and Asia Minor are many votive inscriptions, which show how widespread was the influence of the Seleukidæ, the Ptolemies, the kings of Pergamos, and other contemporary dynasties—how greatly they contributed to

the embellishment of the Greek cities by noble architecture; and, with the same class of inscriptions as our guide, we may in many sites still trace out the changes which Roman despotism has wrought in the aspect of some of the most celebrated of the Greek cities. We thus see how the imperial ædiles of a conquered world made room for a growing population and more extended traffic by sweeping away much that was beautiful and venerable, and constructing, in compensation, those bridges and aqueducts, those amphitheatres, gymnasia, and baths, on the shattered ruins of which the names of the emperors and proconsuls under whose direction they were built may still be read.

If I were to enumerate here all the more remarkable dedicatory inscriptions which are extant, the list would be a very long one. I will only draw attention to a very few which may be taken as specimens of the several classes in which they may be arranged.

Among the earliest discoveries which have resulted from the German excavations at Olympia was that of a beautiful torso of Victory in marble, on the base of which was inscribed the dedication of this statue to the Olympian Zeus by the Messenians and Naupaktians as a tenth from the spoil of their enemies. There is no doubt that this is the actual statue and dedication noticed by Pausanias, and it appears that in his time it was a matter of dispute who were the enemies over whom the triumph had been obtained. The Messenians themselves alleged that the particular victory to which the dedication had reference was that won from the Spartans at Sphakteria by the Athenians and Messenians conjointly, and that, to avoid giving offence to

such near and powerful neighbours as the Lacedæmonians, the wording of the inscription was purposely left vague by the authorities at Olympia. The third line of this dedication informs us that the sculptor of the Victory was Pæonios of Mendè, and that he obtained the first prize for the ornaments on the pediments of the temple of Zeus. As Pæonios was a contemporary of Pheidias, the date of this dedication is fixed within narrow limits, and thus the Victory is one of the very few extant statues of which not only the age and school but the author is certainly known.

Thucydides states that Peisistratos, the son of the tyrant Hippias and the grandson of his great namesake, filled the office of archon at Athens, and dedicated two altars. The inscription on one of these was afterwards erased by the Athenian people, but on the other altar, dedicated to Apollo Pythios, the inscription was quite legible in the time of Thucydides, who transcribes it in his text. *It is equally legible to this day*, the marble on which it was inscribed having been accidentally discovered in a courtyard near the Ilissos by Mr. Kumanudes in 1877.[104] This dedication must have been made before the expulsion of Hippias, B.C. 510. Another curious memorial of a forgotten victory is the bronze spearhead dedicated at Olympia by the Methanians, an insignificant fraction of the Ionian race who remained in the peninsula of Epidauros after the Dorians had established their sway over that part of the Peloponnese. They too, in some unrecorded battle, must have obtained a victory over their powerful neighbours, for the spearhead bears the significant words, "From the Lacedæmonians."[105]

In the British Museum are two marble slabs brought by Lord Aberdeen in the early part of this century from Sklavo-khori near Amyklæ in Lakonia. On both these are sculptured in relief various articles of female toilet, such as a pair of shoes, a hair-net, a mirror, combs, a shell for paint, and various little bottles for unguents. One of these slabs bears the name of a priestess, the other of a subordinate tirewoman attached to a temple. It seems probable that the objects dedicated in these two marbles represent the toilet of the priestess when she had to be attired in her sacred robes on solemn occasions.

In connexion with the dedication of things to the Gods should be mentioned the dedication of persons. I have already noticed that form of enfranchisement by which a slave was dedicated to a God by his master. But there was another form of consecration or, we should rather say, of execration, by which the vengeance of one or more deities was invoked on an offender, and he was solemnly consigned to them for punishment in this world and the next. In order to make this curse more terrible and efficacious, it was drawn up in the form of a dedication and engraved on marble or on metal tablets, and such written curses were hence called by the Romans *devotiones*, while both in the Eastern and Western Churches the name *anathema*, literally "votive offering," is still applied to imprecations solemnly uttered by the priest. At Knidos, within a sacred precinct dedicated to Demeter, Persephonè, Pluto, and other cognate deities, I found a number of leaden tablets on which were graven such *devotiones*. In these curious documents the person against whom the curse was directed was always consigned to the vengeance of the two Infernal Goddesses,

Demeter and her daughter. "May he or she never find Persephonè propitious!" is the constantly recurring formula, and in some cases the offender is duly condemned to eternal torments, besides being excommunicated in this world.

The most curious part of these documents is the statement of the offences which drew forth the *anathema*. The dedicators seem to be mostly ladies, who revenge themselves for various wrongs by doing their very best to send their enemy to the place "not named to ears polite." In the list of crimes specified is a curious jumble of larceny and felony. One lady denounces the person who has stolen her bracelet, or who has omitted to return her under-garments. Another has had her husband's affections stolen from her, and one much injured wife invokes curses on the person who accused her of having tried to poison her husband.

The date of these tablets is probably about B.C. 150, and the careless spelling shows that they were engraved by a very ordinary scribe. Tacitus relates that, when Piso was accused of having poisoned Germanicus, the *carmina* and *devotiones*, "leaden tablets," which were found in his house were thought to confirm the suspicions entertained against him. The tablets discovered by me at Knidos are, as far as I know, the only ones which can be proved to have been found on the sites of temples: three have been discovered in tombs. We see a slightly different form of imprecation on a bronze plate found in Southern Italy.[106] In this three gold coins, which had been stolen, are dedicated to the priestesses of Juno Lacinia, on whom would thus devolve the duty of recovering them from the thief. How far these im-

precations had a salutary effect in reclaiming sinners and inducing them to offer atonement to offended parties is a question as to which the only evidence I can adduce is a curious dedication to a lunar deity of Asia Minor, Men Aziottenos, which declares how one Artemidoros, having been reviled by Hermogenes and Nitonis, denounced them in a votive tablet (*pittakion*), and how Hermogenes, having been punished by the god, had made a propitiatory offering and had amended his ways.[107] These ancient *devotiones* present a close analogy with the written spells which so powerfully affected the mediæval mind, and of which the influence still lingers in Oriental countries.

The protection which, as we have seen, was enjoyed by slaves by being dedicated to a god was extended to those animals which were consecrated to particular deities. Thus at Apollonia in Illyria, as Herodotos tells us, was a flock of sheep dedicated to the god Helios, and perpetually guarded by a priest chosen from among the most distinguished citizens. At Kyzikos heifers were reared in sacred lands in honour of Persephonè.[108]

In an inscription found at Smyrna and recently published by the Greek Evangelical School at that place, the fish dedicated to some Goddess not named, and which are kept in a stew (*ichthyotrophion*) within her sacred precinct, are declared to be under her special protection. If one of these fish should haply die, it is to be immediately offered on the altar, but if any sacrilegious poacher should attempt to steal one of these sacred *protégés*, he is threatened, not with "man traps and spring guns," like the British poacher of a past generation, but with the terrible imprecation, "May he be

devoured by fishes himself!" The Goddess will, on the other hand, not forget to reward her faithful water bailiffs.[109]

I have now arrived at the last division of my subject, the inscriptions relating to the dead, in which may be included not only epitaphs, but inscriptions which refer to funeral rites and places of sepulture. At Iulis, in the island of Keos, has been recently found a sumptuary law regulating the cost of funerals. It ordains that the dead are to be buried in three or fewer white garments, the total cost of which is not to exceed 100 drachmæ, £4. They are to be carried on a bier. Not more than three of the measures called *choes* of wine and one of oil are to be taken to the tomb. The vessels containing them are to be taken away. The dead are to be carried in silence and covered up. A victim is to be slain at the funeral according to the ancient rite. The bier and coverings of the dead are then to be taken back to the house of mourning, which on the following day is to be sprinkled with branches of laurel to purify it from the pollution of the corpse.

After the purification incense is to be burnt. In the return from the funeral the women are to walk before the men. The funeral banquet on the thirtieth day after the interment, so usual among the Greeks, is forbidden by this law. Before the purification no woman is to enter the house of mourning except those near of kin, who have already incurred pollution.[110] It is interesting to compare this law with that of Solon relating to the same subject, the fragments of which have been collected from Demosthenes and other ancient authors. Both laws had the same object, the restricting unnecessary outlay and

extravagant display of grief at funerals; and Köhler, the editor of this inscription, infers from the character of its enactments, and of the language in which they are drawn up, that it is the transcript of a law passed in the latter half of the fifth century B.C. Very full directions as to mourning are to be found in a law of the city of Gambrion in Mysia. The mourning garments for the women must be dusky, the men have the option of wearing this colour or white. In the fourth month after the funeral the men are to cease mourning, and the women one month later, when they have to join in certain processions and purifications ordained by law. The strict observance of these regulations is to be enforced by the *gynaikonomos*, an officer whose functions I have already explained in my notice of the Andania inscription. He is ordered to punish all transgressors by excluding them for ten years from all sacrifices to the gods, while he is to invoke a blessing on those who are obedient.[111]

The inscriptions on sepulchral monuments comprise not only epitaphs, but also those public notices which in the latter days of paganism were affixed to places of burial by their owners, in assertion of their freehold right, and to scare away the sacrilegious tomb-robber. These notices do not occur before the Roman period, but epitaphs were probably inscribed on sepulchral monuments almost as soon as the Phœnician alphabet was adopted by the Greeks. Probably the oldest extant sepulchral inscriptions are those in the island of Thera (Santorin), which contain merely the name of the deceased graven on the rocks in characters thought by Kirchhoff to be not later than Olymp. 40 (B.C. 620), and which L. Ross ascribed to an even higher antiquity.[112]

Next in date to these Theræan inscriptions may be placed the few specimens from Athens and Ægina, of which facsimiles are given in Kirchhoff (*Corpus*, Part I.). These early epitaphs are very brief, containing little more than the name of the deceased and of his father. Sometimes they are metrical, and the form of metre preferred is an elegiac distich. It was in the composition of these distichs that Simonides was so celebrated. His epitaph on those who fell at Thermopylæ, "Stranger, tell Lacedæmon that we lie here in obedience to her laws," will be forgotten only when the memory of Thermopylæ itself shall have passed away. The brevity and simplicity of these early epitaphs are quite in harmony with the law by which Solon enacted that no sepulchral monument should be permitted at Athens which could not be completed by ten men in the course of three days, and with the rule proposed by Plato in his ideal laws, that the width of sepulchral marbles should not exceed the space required for four hexameter verses.

After the Persian war we have some interesting Attic inscriptions, commemorating those Athenians and allies who fell in certain battles. The earliest of these relates to the expedition against Thasos, B.C. 465–464, when 10,000 colonists were killed by the Thracians at Drabeskos. Next in date is the epitaph of those who fell in Egypt, Cyprus, and other places in the years B.C. 461–460. In the battle of Potidæa, B.C. 432, one hundred and fifty Athenian citizens were slain. The names, once inscribed on their monument, have perished, but the lower part of the epitaph, containing twelve elegiac verses in their honour, is preserved in the British Museum. We should have been thankful if time had

also spared us the epitaphs of some of the heroes of the Peloponnesian war, such as Perikles or Brasidas. It is singular that among the many Greek epitaphs extant on marble, there is hardly one which can be attributed to any personage of historical note during the period of Hellenic independence, and yet the gratitude of the Greek republics, shown so strikingly in their decrees in honour of the living, could hardly have ignored the illustrious dead.[113]

The number of sepulchral inscriptions which have been discovered in Attica was nearly four thousand when Kumanudes published his collection of them in 1871, and is much larger now. The greater part of these are epitaphs containing merely names with the patronymic and tribe subjoined. One or two, however, deserve mention from their historical interest. On the monument of Dexileos, discovered some years ago in the Agia Triada, is represented in relief a mounted warrior spearing a prostrate foe. Underneath is the epitaph, which informs us that Dexileos was born in the archonship of Tisandros, and that he fell in the battle of Corinth with four companions in arms, all in the Athenian cavalry. This battle took place B.C. 394, and from the special manner in which the epitaph refers to these five Athenians as "the five horsemen," it may be inferred that on this occasion they distinguished themselves among the Athenian cavalry by some signal prowess of which history makes no mention. This inscription has a special value, because it enables us to fix the date of an example of Athenian sculpture almost to a year, and it is also interesting because the mention of the archons gives the age of the person commemorated at the time of death. Though in the Roman period the

age of the deceased is frequently stated in the epitaph, I am not aware that such an addition occurs in any other sepulchral inscription of so early a period as the monument of Dexileos. Another warrior whose fame is only known to us by his epitaph is one Pythion of Megara, who, in some war which we cannot identify, rescued three Athenian tribes, and with his own hand slew seven of the enemy.[114]

The rarity of epitaphs of historical interest which can be referred to the republican period may be partly explained by the fact that the Greek sepulchral *stelè* with its long slender shaft was very liable to be overthrown and broken, while, on the other hand, its form was very well adapted for the masonry of military defences hastily built in time of war. This was the case at Athens when, under the direction of Themistokles, the city was fortified in great haste, and, as Thucydides states, many of the foundation-stones were *stelæ* taken from tombs. As wealth and luxury increased, and republican simplicity decayed, sepulchral monuments on a much larger scale became the fashion, and took the form of a small distyle temple, *heroön*, such as we see in the vase pictures after Alexander the Great's time. This tendency to erect more sumptuous sepulchral monuments was further developed after Roman luxury had invaded the Greek world, and, as the ground available for sepulture diminished in area, there must have been often the temptation to clear away the tombstones of former generations in order to make room for the last dwelling-place of some powerful and aristocratic family. If, as early as the time of Cicero, the tomb of so illustrious a philosopher as Archimedes had, as he tells,

been so completely forgotten by the Syracusans that he had some difficulty in discovering it in the brushwood with which it was overgrown, how much more must this have been the case with the obscurer herd of Greek dead. Hence the inscriptions on the tombs of the Roman period are constantly asserting the freehold rights of the family to whom the tomb belongs. To give greater emphasis to the assertion of ownership in these inscriptions, reference is often made to title-deeds registered in the archives of the city. The curses invoked on those who disturb or deface places of sepulture are of the most terrible kind. In an Athenian inscription,[115] the tomb is committed to the custody of Pluto, Demeter, Persephonè, the Furies, and the rest of the infernal deities. "For the violator of the tomb may the sea never be navigable nor the land traversable! May he perish with all his race! May he have tertian and quartan ague and every other calamity!"

In an inscription from Aphrodisias in Karia,[116] the heirs of the deceased are appointed the guardians of his tomb, but, if they fail in this duty, their inheritance is to be forfeited to the goddess Aphroditè, the wardens of whose temple, *neopoiai*, are bound to prosecute any one violating the tomb. In another inscription[117] from the same city the tomb-robber is not only to be cursed in life and deprived of a burial-place after death, but he is to pay a fine of 5000 drachmæ, £200, towards the adornment of the goddess Aphroditè, and the senate is charged with the duty of prosecuting, because the deceased has given them a large sum in trust on this very condition. A number of sepulchral inscriptions of

the same character from Aphrodisias will be found in Böckh's Corpus. It is curious to observe how carefully the builder of one of these large family vaults provided against all future domestic disputes by assigning the "berths" in the sepulchral chamber severally to the respective next of kin; the freedmen and even the house slaves, *thremmata*, were sometimes admitted to this worshipful family-gathering after their death. Even at this distance of time it is touching to read in a Smyrnæan inscription now at Oxford,[113] how Amilla, the wife of Asklepiades, provides room for her slaves in her tomb because they have co-operated in building it, and how the middle berth is reserved for the old man Hymnos, "because he gave his labour without pay."

I have already shown, in noticing the inscription called the will of Epikteta, how additional sanctity was given to a tomb by dedicating a precinct round it to some deity. In the *temenos* near Rome, which the celebrated rhetorician Herodes Atticus dedicated to his wife Regilla in the second century A.D., we have an analogous combination. We learn from a comparison of several extant inscriptions that the body of Regilla was buried in Attica in a stately tomb, but that, at the third milestone on the Appian Way, on land which had belonged to Regilla, Herodes consecrated a *temenos* to Demeter, Athenè, and Nemesis, which he called Triopion, in allusion to the Knidian cult of the Chthonian deities. Within this *temenos* was a temple dedicated to Demeter, with whom is associated one of the two empresses who bear the name of Faustina, and whom Herodes, in the adulatory language of his age, styles in his dedicatory inscription "the new Demeter;" and in

the same sacred edifice was a statue of Regilla, whose shade, as the dedication informs us, "dwells among the heroines in the islands of the blest." No one is to be buried within this hallowed ground except lineal descendants of Herodes. The inscriptions from this *temenos* consist of two long dedications in hexameter verse, and two notices on columns, which were found at the third milestone on the Appian Way, at or near the actual site of the *temenos*, and which must have marked its entrance. The notices on these columns declare them to be dedicated to Demeter, Persephonè, and the other Chthonian deities, and threaten all who violate the sacred precinct with divine vengeance. With the pedantic affectation of antiquity which was characteristic of his time, Herodes had the inscriptions on the columns graven in characters which may be called pseudo-archaic, and which could only have been legible to the learned in his day. We learn from Philostratos that on his wife's death Herodes covered the pictures in his house with black hangings or dark Lesbian marble, and that the extravagance of his sorrow was such that it provoked sarcastic remarks from his friends. Similar remonstrances on his ostentatious mourning were addressed to him on the erection of so many statues in Attica to his foster sons, whose names and virtues, however, he has thus succeeded in handing down to modern times, for the inscriptions on several of these statues are extant. These figures appear to have been erected in the spots frequented by these young men for the chase.[119]

The number of extant epitaphs of the Roman period is, as might be expected, very large in proportion to what has survived from the previous centuries of Hellenic civilisation, and the greater part of these later sepulchral

inscriptions has been contributed by the populous cities of Asia Minor, and by Rome itself. When we compare these epitaphs of the Imperial period with those of the age of Perikles, we miss the austere republican simplicity which thought the ordinary citizen sufficiently commemorated after death by the bare record of his name, patronymic, and deme on his tombstone, unless in the case of those who, having died fighting for their country, had earned the honour of a public funeral and a common epitaph by the Simonides of the day. There is in these early inscriptions hardly a word of sympathy for the mourners who survive, and but scant information as to the profession and character of the deceased, his social position, or his hopes or views as to the future world; nor do we find the expression of that pride of race which in the later inscriptions glories in reference to distinguished ancestors. It is true that the epitaph on Archedikè, daughter of Hippias, cited by Thucydides, tells us that she was the daughter, wife, and sister of *tyranni*; but this statement only serves to point the epigrammatic turn of the closing lines, which declare that, notwithstanding these illustrious kinsmen, she was never elevated to undue pride. Very different is the tone of the later inscriptions. Already in the early part of the third century B.C. that acute observer, Theophrastos, notes it as a characteristic of the overbusy and fussy man, that, when a married woman dies, he inscribes on her tombstone not only her own name, but that of her husband, father, and mother, announcing to the world that all these were "worthy persons." This sort of domestic information, which to the sarcastic mind of Theophrastos seemed ridiculous, is a very common feature of the sepulchral

inscriptions of the Roman period, and both in the praises bestowed on the deceased, and in the allusions to the grief of those who have to bemoan their loss, there is a constant tendency to hyperbole. The terse language of the ancient Simonidean epitaph was not compatible with these rhetorical compositions, and in its place we find a verbose and pompous jargon, full of affected archaism and frigid conventionality. This is particularly the case with the metrical epitaphs, the best of which have been published in the Greek Anthology of Jacobs, and by Welcker in his *Sylloge.*

One of the most elegant is an epitaph from Kyrene,[120] but generally they are inferior in terseness and pathos to the contemporary epitaphs in Latin, which, even under the Empire, seem the utterance of a truer and nobler domestic life; indeed, in those few Greek epitaphs which are characterised by tenderness and depth of feeling, the persons to whom the inscription relates are generally Roman, though the language is Greek. I would here draw attention to the inscriptions on the tomb of Atilia Pomptilla, which comprise several distinct epitaphs written some in Greek and some in Latin.[121] These inscriptions tell us how Cassius Philippus, the husband of Atilia Pomptilla, after being banished to Sardinia by some emperor, was seized with a mortal illness. To save her husband, his wife Pomptilla, like another Alkestis, offered up her life to the gods. Her prayer was heard, and she redeemed Cassius Philippus from death at the cost of her own life. The date of these inscriptions is not ascertained; the spirit of the Augustan age still lingers in them, and they are probably not later than the first century A.D. They remind us, *longo intervallo,*

of the exquisite elegy in which Propertius makes Cornelia address her husband, Æmilius Paulus, from the tomb.

In the earlier Greek epitaphs there is seldom reference to a future life, but during the Roman Empire, when men were more prone to speculate on the future condition and destiny of the soul, we may trace the influence of different schools of thought in the epitaphs. Sometimes the dead, speaking in their own person, declare that theirs is the portion of the blessed, that they dwell in the shady bowers of the pious. Sometimes with a mocking irony the epitaph reminds the living that all things in this world are nought, that "dust we are and unto dust shall we return," and that the best plan is "to eat, drink, and be merry." Thus, a certain M. Antonius Eucolpus informs the passer-by that "there is no Charon's boat, no Æacus, the holder of the key, no Cerberus. We, the dead, are only bones and ashes; waste no precious unguents or wreaths on our tomb, for it is only marble; kindle no funeral pyre, for it is useless extravagance. If you have anything to give, give it while I am alive, but, if you steep ashes in wine, you only make mud, for the dead man does not drink." "I was not and was born, I am not and grieve not," is the laconic summary of an Epicurean graven on his tomb.[122] In a Corcyrean inscription[123] we have a curious contrast in the epitaphs of a husband and wife. The husband, one Euodos, died first, and left a parting recommendation to all future generations to let both body and soul enjoy the good things of this life as far as possible, for "when, after the spirit has left the body, it goes down to the waters of Lethè in the nether world, it will behold nothing again

of the upper world." The widow of this Epicurean, on the contrary, declares in the most positive manner that her soul is dwelling in heaven, while her body rests on earth. Reference to a future day of judgment is very rare, and the nether world of Hades is but sparingly alluded to. As every one was free to use his own land as a burial-place, there seems to have been no authority such as controls and regulates the language and doctrine of sepulchral inscriptions in our modern cemeteries.

The vast and motley throng of strangers which frequented imperial Rome for several centuries comprised personages and adventurers of every rank and nationality. Teachers of rhetoric, poets and philosophers, musicians, actors, mountebanks were for ever flocking from their native provinces to the imperial city, drawn thither by the craving for fame or gain, and at the court of the Masters of the World were never wanting dethroned princes and their heirs, praying to be reinstated in their dominions, detained as hostages, or kept in tutelage; to these we must add envoys from foreign potentates and emissaries, secret or avowed, from the cities and great corporations of the provinces. When we look over the long list of Greek sepulchral inscriptions found at Rome, we recognise amid the rank and file buried there many who in their day seem to have attained ephemeral celebrity in some science or art, and here and there we come upon a royal name, such as that of Artabazdes, son of Ariobarzanes, king of the Medes, and Abgarus, son of a king of Edessa of the same name, who died A.D. 217. We find, too, from an inscription, that Aurelius Pacorus, king of Armenia, who reigned probably A.D. 150, bought a sarcophagus in which to bury his brother Aurelius

Merithates, then resident at Rome. Perhaps this very sarcophagus may some day turn up in the *scavi* on the Via Latina.[124]

Honouring the dead in antiquity was not confined to human beings; even favourite animals were not thought unworthy of a sepulchral monument. At Agrigentum the horses who had gained victories in Olympic races were buried with due honour, and among the Roman epitaphs[125] is one which records the many triumphs in the course won by such a steed. Theophrastos, in the well-known work which I have already quoted, notes it as one of the characteristics of an ostentatious trifler that he erects monuments to his canine pets, and that such a practice was not unknown in later times is proved by the epitaph on a dog who died at Rome.[126]

But it is time to bring to a close this "talk of graves, of worms, of epitaphs." The sepulchral inscriptions which I have noticed may be regarded as the voice of the dead speaking to the passer-by for all future time. I will conclude with an inscription which we may suppose the deceased to have taken with him to the tomb for his own instruction and recreation there. At Petilia in Southern Italy was found a small plate of very thin gold, on which are engraved eleven Greek hexameters, containing, as it would seem, directions for the guidance of the departed spirit on its descent to Hades.[127] "You will find," says this legend, "on the left of the dwellings of Hades, a fountain, and growing by it a white cypress tree. Approach not too near this fountain. You will find another source of cold water flowing from the lake of Memory, and guardians stand in front

of it. Say to them: 'You are the son of earth and of the starry heaven, but I am of the heavenly race, as ye too know; but I am parched with thirst and am perishing. Give quickly the cold water which flows from the lake of Memory,' and they will give the water, and then you will reign with the heroes." This plate, still preserved in the British Museum, was originally a roll kept in a gold cylindrical case, which was doubtless suspended round the neck as an amulet. To this day the Turkish peasants cherish as amulets rolls on which are written verses from the Koran, and which are preserved in cylindrical cases made, not of gold, but of humbler tin.

DISCOVERIES AT EPHESOS.*

MORE than twenty-two centuries ago, in the year 356 before the Christian era, two remarkable events are recorded to have taken place on the same night. The queen of Philip of Macedon gave birth to a son destined to be the conqueror of the East, and the Temple of the Ephesian Artemis was burnt by Herostratos. The Ephesian people were not long in repairing this great calamity, and the new temple which they erected far surpassed its predecessor in magnificence. It was this later temple which, when St. Paul visited Ephesos, ranked among the Seven Wonders of the ancient world, and of which the site, long sought for by travellers, was found by Mr. Wood in 1873.

Before noticing the series of remarkable discoveries narrated in his book, it may be well to give some account of the earlier temples of the Ephesian Artemis, and of the city with which her world-famous worship was associated through so many centuries. The first event in the history of Ephesos which has any claim to be historical is the establishment there of a colony from Greece, under the leadership of Androklos, son of the Attic King Kodros. This event, which is said

* "Discoveries at Ephesos," by J. T. Wood, F.S.A., "Edinburgh Review," January, 1876.

to have taken place B.C. 1044, is presented to us in that legendary garb in which the naked facts of Greek tradition were so constantly clothed before the beginning of regular history. Androklos, says the local legend, as Athenæus gives it, landed with his band of adventurers at a particular spot on the Ionian coast, to which they were directed by an oracle. Here, some fishermen having lit a fire to broil their fish near a fountain, startled a boar out of the brushwood, which was chased over the rocky ground near the shore, and killed by Androklos. This incident is commemorated on the coins of Ephesos, as late as the second century of our era, on which Androklos, with the title of *Ktistes*, "Founder," is represented slaying the boar. In the time of the Antonines, the tomb of this hero was still to be seen at Ephesos, on the road leading from the Magnesian Gate to the Temple of Artemis.[123]

Notwithstanding the legendary character of this story, there seems to be no just ground for rejecting the main fact which it embodies, that a band of settlers from Attica established themselves at Ephesos, somewhere about the middle of the eleventh century B.C., when the Ionian immigration took place along the west coast of Asia Minor. But even at this very remote period, if we are to believe Pausanias, the worship of Artemis had been established at Ephesos from time immemorial, and this tradition is mixed up with the story of that mysterious product of Asiatic myth, the Amazons, who are said to have been the first attendants of the goddess, and whose reputed descendants in after time dwelt round her temple, blended with a population of Lydians and Leleges. These aboriginal races Andro-

klos gradually drove before him, so as to secure for his colony a strong mountainous position called Koressos, and the command of a harbour communicating with the sea through the channel of the Kaystros. Then, by an arrangement very common in the early Greek colonies, there grew up side by side two communities, one composed of natives, who dwelt round the Temple of Artemis, the other of Greek new comers; and at Ephesos, as at Halikarnassos and elsewhere on the Ionian coast, a friendly understanding was after a time established between these two populations.

On reference to Mr. Wood's map we can easily recognise the site which must have been occupied by Androklos. It must have extended over the mountain formerly called Peion or Prion, but which Mr. Wood, for reasons which we shall have to explain, calls Koressos. The sacred harbour and the fountain Hypelaios, both of which figure in the legend of Androklos, must have been somewhere on the lower ground, at the foot of the mountain ridge which bounds Ephesos to the south, and which is called Prion by Mr. Wood. The native population must have dwelt in the plain round the Temple of Artemis, and probably fortified the hill on which the Byzantine Castle of Ayasoluk now stands.

The goddess whose worship Androklos found so long established at Ephesos received the name of Artemis from the Greeks, from the resemblance which they discovered between her attributes and rites and those of the Huntress, daughter of Latona, whom they themselves worshipped. But the distinction between the Asiatic and Hellenic deity was never lost sight of in Greek art and literature. The Ephesian Artemis, whose original

name is said to have been Upis, was one of several deities in Asia Minor, whose worship the Greek settlers found much too firmly established to be rooted out, and whom they therefore adopted into their own system of mythology. Such were the Hera of Samos, the Zeus of Labranda, the Artemis Leukophrynè of Magnesia, and the Artemis of Perga. The types of these primitive deities are barbaric and un-Hellenic. Most of them we know only from representations on coins struck by Asiatic cities under the Roman Empire; but the type of the Ephesian Artemis, from the world-wide celebrity of her worship, has come down to us in several statues of the Roman period, all probably derived from the idol so long and profoundly venerated at Ephesos.[129] The goddess in these Roman replicas is represented as a female figure, the body a mere trunk lessening to the base with feet placed close together, as if copied from a mummy. On her chest are several parallel rows of pendulous breasts, whence she was called Polymammia; below are various symbols, such as bees, flowers, fruit, rows of projecting heads of bulls and gryphons and other animals; on her arms, which are supported on each side by an oblique strut or stick, are lions crawling upwards. How far these strange symbols are part of the original type, or which of them may have been additions due to the Pantheistic tendency of Paganism under the Roman Empire, we have no means of determining; nor do we know much as to the import of these symbols, though volumes of erudition have been written in the hope of explaining them ever since the revival of learning. The statement of St. Jerome that the Artemis of Ephesos, whom he carefully distinguishes

from the Greek Huntress, is the mother of all animal life, and that therefore her type was Polymammia, is probably well founded. The *modius*, or corn measure, which she wears on her head, is certainly an attribute of Chthonian or telluric deities, and so perhaps may be the flowers, fruit, and bees; the disk or *polos* round the head, the signs of the zodiac on the breast, the gryphons, and the lions seem rather to embody a lunar myth. The symbol of the bees must be viewed in connection with the fact that the priestesses of the Ephesian Artemis were called *Melissæ*, and certain of her priests *Essenes*, the name given by the Greeks to what, in ignorance of natural history, they called the king-bee. Curtius thinks that the worship of Artemis may have been founded at Ephesos by the Karians and the Phœnicians, to whom the abundance of springs here may have suggested the dedication of a shrine to the great goddess of nature, who makes the earth fertile by humidity.[130]

After the death of the founder Androklos, his sons were expelled from power by an antimonarchical movement, and the Ionian colony was strengthened by the importation of new settlers from Teos and Karene. The original division into three tribes was enlarged, and the boundaries of the city extended, spreading from Koressos to Peion.[131] Some time in the seventh century B.C. a great host of Kimmerian invaders swept like locusts over Asia Minor, advancing as far as the west coast. The Ephesian Kallinos, one of the earliest elegiac poets of Ionia, tried in vain at this crisis to awaken by his verse the martial ardour of his fellow-citizens. The Kimmerians encamped in the plain traversed by the Kaystros, and partially burnt the Temple of Artemis, the

plunder of which, however, is said to have been averted by the special intervention of the goddess. It is about this time that the history of Ephesos begins to be connected with the neighbouring kingdom of Lydia, then ruled by the dynasty which Gyges founded about B.C. 715–690. The tendency of this dynasty in the successive reigns of Ardys, Sadyattes, and Alyattes was to advance westward so as to menace the independence of the flourishing Ionic settlements. Sadyattes and Alyattes several times invaded the territory of Miletos, and the final subjugation of the Ionian cities was accomplished by their successor Crœsus, whose wealth, derived from the gold of the Paktolos, has become a proverb for all time. Ephesos contrived to make better terms with the conqueror than any other Ionian city. Its position on the coast made it the natural port of Sardes, and it was probably to strengthen commercial relations that Alyattes married his daughter to the Ephesian Melas, who was probably at that time the ruler of his native city. The issue of this marriage was a son called Pindaros, whom, in the reign of Crœsus, we find described as a *tyrannos*, reigning in his father's stead in Ephesos. In the course of his invasion of Ionia, Crœsus laid siege to Ephesos, and then it was that Pindaros is said to have saved the city over which he ruled by a singular device. He attached a rope from the Temple of Artemis to the city wall, from which it was distant nearly a mile. After this Crœsus allowed the Ephesians to capitulate on honourable terms. The evident meaning of this curious story is that this was a solemn form of dedication by which the Ionian colony was placed under the protection of the Asiatic goddess,

and such an act seems to have brought about a closer amalgamation between the Greek city in Koressos and the native community dwelling round the temple. More than one reason may have combined to induce Crœsus to grant such favourable terms to the Ephesians. He is said to have raised money in the time of his father by means of a rich Ephesian merchant, and he may have thought that his commercial relations would be most securely developed by favouring one Ionian city at the expense of the rest. Again, the Ephesian Artemis, as an Asiatic deity, was to him an object of special reverence; and hence the protection of the goddess, which Pindaros invoked for the city by the solemn act of dedication, would not be without its influence on the conqueror.[132] Herodotos states that some time during his reign, Crœsus dedicated most of the columns in the Temple of Artemis, and also some golden bulls. We know therefore that it must have been in course of construction between B.C. 560 and 546. The date of its commencement is approximately fixed by the fact that it was Theodoros, the celebrated architect and sculptor of Samos, who recommended the laying the foundations on fleeces of wool and charcoal, because the site was marshy. The date of Theodoros is a matter of dispute, but he probably lived not earlier than B.C. 600 (see *ante*, p. 75).

The sixth century before the Christian era was a teeming age when Greek commerce and navigation were being largely developed, and much of the wealth thus suddenly accumulated was employed in building temples and in costly dedications. It was then that solid and sumptuous edifices built of marble and stone were sub-

situted for the wooden structures of the earlier generations, or for the rude altar and time-hallowed idol, sometimes preserved in a hollow tree. The Heraion at Samos, the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, and the Artemision at Ephesos were all begun between B.C. 600 and 500; and early in this century, according to Pliny, two Kretan artists had already attained eminence as sculptors in marble. The first architect of the Ephesian temple was Chersiphron, and it was continued by his son Metagenes, who is said by Vitruvius to have made an ingenious contrivance for transporting the huge architrave stones from the quarry to the temple. After these great blocks had been rough-hewn into beams, a wheel was so fixed to either end that the whole mass with each revolution of the wheels moved forward, clear of the ground. The architrave stones were then lowered into their place on the building by means of paniers of sand placed under them. As the sand ran out, the gradual collapse of the paniers gently lowered the stones on their beds. One block, however, which formed the architrave over the principal doorway, was too unwieldy for the mechanical ingenuity of the architect. In the vexation and perplexity of his spirit he fell into a state of desperation till the Goddess appeared to him in a nightly vision, and said: "Be of good cheer, for I myself will see to the placing of the architrave;" and in the morning, behold, the great refractory mass had, *proprio motu*, subsided with the utmost nicety into its appointed place. This temple, according to Pliny, took a hundred and twenty years to build, and was finished on an enlarged plan by Pæonios, the architect of the Temple of Apollo at Branchidæ, and Demetrios. All

the Ionian cities are said to have contributed to the building of the Artemision, which Brunn supposes to have been completed about 460 B.C.[133] The long delay in finishing it is accounted for, when we consider the momentous revolutions which troubled Asia Minor in the space of time between its founding and completion. In that interval took place the destruction of the Lydian monarchy and the subjugation of Ionia by Cyrus, the revolt of the Ionians under Darius Hystaspes, the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, and the maritime ascendency of Athens, which was its result, and through which most of the cities of Ionia were finally reduced to a state of vassalage. On reference to the record of tribute lists in Attic inscriptions, we find the Ephesians paying tribute to Athens about the time when their temple was completed.[134] This dependence lasted till the great Athenian disaster in Sicily, after which Ephesos sided with the enemies of Athens. The sympathies of the city had been more with Persia than with Greece ever since the time of Darius Hystaspes. After the taking of Miletos Ephesos became the chief port on the west coast of Asia Minor; it was to the Ephesians that Xerxes entrusted his children during his expedition to Greece; and the Artemision was the only temple in Ionia which he did not plunder and destroy, probably because it was dedicated to an Asiatic goddess. Thus again, when the Athenians invaded Ephesos in the latter part of the Peloponnesian War the Persian satrap Tissaphernes made a sumptuous sacrifice at the Temple of Artemis, and levied an army in her defence against the Greek invaders.

Ephesos continued to yield more and more to Asiatic

influence till Lysander, and afterwards Agesilaos, made it the headquarters of their armies, and revived Hellenic spirit in the city. After this the struggle was not between Persian and Greek influence, but between the oligarchical party ruling by the aid of Sparta, and the democratic party who invited the interference of Philip of Macedon. These parties contended with varying fortune till the invasion of Alexander put an end to the struggle.

We have now brought the history of Ephesos down to the period of the burning of the temple by Herostratos, B.C. 356. The building of the new temple was probably commenced immediately after this catastrophe. Some money was raised by the sale of the columns of the old temple and by the voluntary contributions of Ephesian ladies, who even sold their jewels for this holy purpose. Many of the columns of the new temple were the gift of kings. When Alexander the Great passed through Ephesos after his victory at the Granikos, he re-established the democracy, and after assigning to Artemis the tribute previously paid to the Persian king, tried to conciliate the goddess with a great sacrifice which was accompanied by a procession of his whole army in battle-array.

It was probably on this occasion that he offered to defray the entire expenses of rebuilding the temple, provided the Ephesians would allow him to inscribe his name on it as dedicator. The priests, who probably still secretly favoured the cause of the Persian king, declined this munificent offer, replying with an adroit cunning, that it was not meet for a God to make dedications to the Gods. No such scruples occurred to the

priests of Athenè Polias at Prienè. On the walls of that temple Alexander set his name as dedicator, probably immediately after his visit to Ephesos. The block of marble on which this is engraved may be seen in the Mausoleum Room at the British Museum. The bold clear letters are fresh as the day they were cut.[135]

Deinokrates, to whom Alexander entrusted the building of his new city Alexandria, was also the architect of the new temple at Ephesos, and one of the columns was sculptured by Skopas, one of the four artists employed on the Mausoleum.

How long the new Artemision took to build is not recorded, but, if Pliny's statement that the roof, which was of cedar, was 400 years old when he wrote his "Historia Naturalis,"[136] about A.D. 77, is to be taken literally, the temple must have been finished about B.C. 323. It was probably on its completion that the celebrated picture was dedicated, in which Apelles painted Alexander the Great holding a thunderbolt in his hand. The sum which the painter is said to have received from the king for this picture is of fabulous amount.

After the death of Alexander the Greek cities in Asia Minor were the bone of contention among his successors. Above all they coveted the possession of Ephesos; the security of its harbour, only to be approached from the sea by a long narrow canal full of shoals at the entrance; its central position on the west coast of Asia Minor, so convenient either for fitting out naval expeditions, or for the defence of Ionia; its great trade and accumulated wealth, ill-guarded by a population too prone to luxury to be formidable in war; all

marked out Ephesos as the prize of successive victors in the great contest for the possession of the Macedonian empire. Already, before the battle of Ipsos, B.C. 301, it had passed from Antigonos to Lysimachos, and then back to Antigonos and Demetrios. We find it again in the possession of Lysimachos, B.C. 295. His short occupation of Ephesos forms an epoch in the history of the city. He forced the inhabitants to abandon the plain round the temple, where they had gathered ever since the time of Crœsus, and concentrated them on the original site of the colony of Androklos. The hill which former topographers call Prion, but to which Mr. Wood gives the name Koressos, was probably the akropolis of the city which Lysimachos rebuilt, and to which he gave the name of his wife Arsinoè. To him may with probability be attributed the line of walls which may still be traced on the summit of this hill, and the magnificent fortification which, following the heights of the higher mountain ridge on the south (Mr. Wood's Prion and the Koressos of former topographers), completely enclosed the Lysimachian city. It was thus that the peculiar connection between the Hellenic city and the temple which had existed ever since the time of Crœsus was finally severed. The sword of the Macedonian conqueror cut through the tie of dependency by which priestcraft had attached the city to the temple of the Asiatic goddess; and it is a significant fact in reference to this political change, that about the time of Lysimachos the silver coins of Ephesos have for the first time the type of the Greek Huntress Goddess, instead of the bee of her Asiatic namesake.

We will not here attempt to follow the chequered

fortunes of Ephesos as it passed like a shuttlecock, backwards and forwards, from the Seleukidæ to the Ptolemies, then back to the Seleukidæ. After the fall of Antiochos the Great, it was added by the Romans to the dominions of Eumenes, king of Pergamos, and it was in the reign of his successor, Attalos II., that we first hear of that silting up at the mouth of the Kaystros which, though very slow and gradual in its operation, ultimately destroyed the harbour of Ephesos. The mole by which Attalos tried to correct this tendency to silt up and which only aggravated the mischief, has been recognised by Mr. Wood in a massive stone embankment on the north bank of the Kaystros, of which he traced the remains to a distance of within four hundred yards of the present sea-board.[137]

In the war between Mithradates and the Romans, B.C. 88, the Ephesians actively sided with the king of Pontus, not so much, according to Appian, through fear of that formidable monarch, who, for the time being, was master of nearly all Asia Minor, as through hatred of the Romans, whom they ruthlessly massacred, even when they had invoked the protection of their own Goddess. Soon, with the political inconstancy which characterises their history from the beginning, they changed sides and became adherents of the Romans. It is curious to turn from Appian's statements to the plea put forth by the Ephesians themselves in an inscription now at Oxford, which once probably formed a part of the *cella* walls of the Artemision. In this manifesto, in which the Ephesian people declare war against Mithradates, they state that they sided with him only by compulsion, having always secretly

cherished in their hearts their preference for the Roman alliance.[138]

This decree must have been passed after the great defeat of Mithradates at Chæronea, and its date is probably about B.C. 86. The conqueror of Mithradates was not to be cajoled by the elaborate rhetoric of such documents, and Sylla made the Ephesians atone for the massacre of so many Roman citizens by a heavy fine.

Here the history of Ephesos as an autonomous Greek state may be said to end. In the Roman civil war which followed, its citizens unluckily again chose the losing side, and, having too zealously supported Brutus and Cassius, were heavily mulcted by Mark Antony, who did not, however, omit to propitiate the goddess with a great sacrifice.

Looking back through the history of the Ephesians from Augustus to Crœsus, we find abundant evidence of their commercial prosperity and of their adroitness in conciliating powerful neighbours, and choosing allies on the winning side; but no heroic self-sacrifice, no daring spirit of maritime adventure, such as distinguished their ancient rivals the Milesians and the Phokæans. Their policy throughout is marked by selfishness and cunning; "the lions from Hellas have become foxes at Ephesos," was a familiar Greek proverb.

But if their policy was thus ignoble, it was at any rate successful. The commerce of Ephesos, great even in the time of the Lydian kings, when the gold of the Paktolos was already flowing into the plain of the Kaystros, grew with each century, in spite of all the wars and revolutions which harassed the west coast of Asia Minor, and destroyed many of its most flourishing cities. And thus it came to pass that in the reign of Augustus

when the former greatness of Miletos had become a by-word; when Lebedos, as Horace tells us, was more deserted than Gabii and Fidenæ, and the other cities which once formed the league of the Panionion had mostly dwindled into obscurity, Ephesos not only maintained its ancient commercial supremacy, but was exalted above all the other cities of Asia Minor by the privileges and titles bestowed on it by Imperial favour. It was allowed to style itself First City of Asia and *Neokoros* or Minister of the great goddess Artemis, whose worship was thenceforth associated with that of the Emperor; for as we know from Mr. Wood's discoveries, the Augusteum was dedicated within the same *peribolos* as the Artemision as early as B.C. 6.

These titles and privileges represented substantial political advantages. We learn from Ulpian[139] that, when a pro-consul proceeded to his post in Asia Minor, he was by law obliged to select Ephesos as the port where he first landed, and it was the seat of the *conventus juridicus* or general assize, to which many neighbouring cities of Lydia had to refer their causes.

When we take into account the concourse of strangers which must have been drawn to Ephesos, not only by commercial or legal business, but by the fame of the worship of their great Goddess, and the splendour of the festivals celebrated in her honour, we can understand why the great theatre was constructed on so large a scale, being capable, according to Mr. Wood's calculation, of holding upwards of twenty-four thousand persons.

All through the Imperial period the wealth of the Artemision must have been steadily accumulating. The fisheries of the Selinousian lakes, which the kings who

successively occupied Ephesos appropriated for their needs, were restored to the temple by the Romans. We know not the extent of the domain belonging to the Goddess, but it was probably very large; and from Xenophon's description of the temple which he dedicated in Lakonia, in humble imitation of the Ephesian Artemision, it seems likely that a large park full of sacred deer and other beasts of chase was one of the appanages of the temple.

Moreover, the Great Goddess had from time immemorial kept in her temple a bank of deposit; her credit was so good that for centuries the treasures of kings and of private persons were confided to her care.[140] The reinvestment of this money in loans, either on the security of real property or goods, must have enabled the Goddess to do a very good business at all times, especially if she often had to deal with deposits on such easy terms as in the case of that made by Xenophon. In an interesting passage in the "Anabasis" he tells us that, when about to join a warlike expedition, he deposited with the *Neokoros*,[141] or chief minister of the Ephesian Artemis, a sum of money, the proceeds of spoils of war. In the event of his being killed in battle this money was to be employed in any manner most pleasing and acceptable to the Goddess; if he returned safe he was to have the right of reclaiming his deposit, which he accordingly did, when he met this same *Neokoros* at Olympia some years afterwards. To these sources of wealth must be added the fines and confiscations imposed by the State on those who violated its laws, and the gifts and bequests, by which, from motives of gratitude or fear, devotees were for ever seeking to propitiate the Goddess.

Mr. Wood's exploration of the Great Theatre brought to light a memorable specimen of such dedications.

The inscription which records it, though unfortunately incomplete, is one of the longest ever found in Asia Minor. It tells us how one Vibius Salutaris,[142] a Roman of equestrian rank, who had filled very high offices in the State, dedicated to Artemis a number of gold and silver statues, of which the weight is given, and a sum of money to be held in trust, the yearly interest of which is to be applied to certain specified uses. On the 6th of the first decade of the month Thargelion (May 25th), on which day the mighty Goddess Artemis was born, largess is to be distributed to various public functionaries in the *pronaos* of the temple. The members of the Ephesian *Boulè*, or senate, are to receive one drachma each. The six tribes of the city, the high priest and the priestess of Artemis, the two *Neopoiai*, or Surveyors of the temple, the *Paidonomi* who had the charge of the education of the boys, and other fortunate personages, come in for a share of this munificent dole. The heirs of Salutaris were made liable for the due payment of the bequests in case he should die before paying over the principal or making an assignment of the rent of certain lands for the payment of the interest. The trust is guarded by stringent enactments. By a letter of Afranius Flavianus, pro-prætor, which is appended to the deed of trust, a fine of 50,000 drachmæ (rather less than £2000) is inflicted on anyone, whether magistrate or private person, who attempts to set aside any of the provisions of the trust; one half of this fine is to go to the adornment of the Goddess, he other half to the Imperial *fiscus*. The silver

and gold figures dedicated by Salutaris are called both *eikones* statues and *apeikonismata*, by which is probably meant replicas or copies of extant statues, and their weight ranges from two to seven Roman pounds. In the list we find a golden Artemis with silver stags; two silver figures of Artemis bearing a torch; a silver figure of the Roman people; a silver figure of the Equestrian Order, to which Salutaris himself belonged, a silver figure of the *Boulè*, or senate of Ephesos; a silver figure of the Ephesian *Gerousia*, a council which seems to have had to do with the management of sacred property. The greatest care is to be taken of these figures. When they require cleaning, it is to be done with a particular earth called *arguromatikè* by the custodian of the sacred deposits for the time being, in the presence of the two Surveyors of the temple. At every meeting of the popular assembly, *ekklesia*, and at all the gymnastic contests, and on every other occasion to be fixed by the *Boulè* and *Demos*, these figures are to be carried from the *pronaos* of the temple to the theatre, duly guarded, and then back to the temple. During their transit through the city itself they are to be escorted by the *Ephebi*, who are to receive them at the Magnesian Gate and accompany them after the assembly to the Koressian Gate. It is impossible to read these provisions in the inscription without being reminded of that memorable scene in the Great Theatre at Ephesos when St. Paul had to encounter an uproarious multitude, whose fanaticism, in behalf of their Goddess, had been stirred up by Demetrios, the maker of portable silver shrines of Diana, by whose guild probably the very statues enumerated in the inscription were manufactured.

Indeed, had St. Paul preached half a century later at Ephesos, he would have seen the splendid gifts dedicated by Salutaris on their way to and from the theatre, or, if he attended the public games, in the theatre itself. But his visit to Ephesos took place about A.D. 54–57, and the inscription relating to Salutaris is at least as late as A.D. 102, when probably a great reaction had taken place against the new doctrines, and devout men like Salutaris did all in their power to foster and cherish old local superstition.

It should be here remarked that it was this mention of the Magnesian and Koressian Gates in the inscription which gave Mr. Wood his first clue to the site of the temple. Having found the Magnesian Gate, he proceeded to look for the portico, built by the Sophist Damianos in the second century A.D., which led from that gate to the temple, and of which the purpose was to protect from bad weather those who took part in the procession. Mr. Wood succeeded in tracing the line of this portico for some distance outside the city. It followed the line of an ancient road, and pointed in the direction of the plain at the foot of Ayasoluk. Another road tended in the same direction, starting from a gate near the Stadion, which Mr. Wood rightly assumed to be the Koressian Gate mentioned in the Salutaris inscription. Advancing northward towards the point where these two roads tended to converge, he came upon an ancient wall, an inscription on which showed that it was the *Peribolos* of the Artemision;[143] after which, to find the site of the temple itself was only a matter of time.

It is interesting to compare the enactments in the Salutaris inscription which direct how the sacred statues

are to be carried in procession through the city, under the escort of the *Ephebi*, with the description of a procession in honour of Artemis in that curious Greek romance the "Ephesiaca" of Xenophon. He tells us in very graphic language how at a certain festival at Ephesos the virgins of the city richly dressed, and all the youths, took a part in the procession, and how it was the custom in that festival to choose out of the ranks of the *Ephebi* bridegrooms for the maidens who appeared in public in the festival. The order of the procession was thus: first came the sacred objects, torches, baskets, incense; then horses, dogs, and hunting weapons and gear. Each of the maidens was arrayed as if to meet her lover. Setting aside the sentimental details with which this florid description is associated in the romance, we may accept it as a poetical version of an actual procession, in which a beautiful maiden seems to have been selected to personate Diana as a huntress. We do not know the particular festival which the writer had in view, but it was probably one in the month Artemision, which corresponded in the Ephesian calender to the latter half of our March and the first half of April. This entire month was consecrated to the Goddess after whom it was named, and was one continuous festival in her honour. No more appropriate season could have been chosen for the wooings which the procession seems so greatly to have promoted. It is probable that there was also a great feast on the birthday of the Goddess, which, as we have already stated, fell on the 6th of Thargelion (the 25th of our May), and this may have corresponded in character with the Thargelia held originally at Delos, and afterwards transferred to Athens on the breaking up

of the Delian Confederacy. It may have been in this month that *theori* from all the Ionian cities, anciently members of the Panionion, met in solemn festival at Ephesos.

The supremacy of the chief priest of the Ephesian Artemis had probably in the earliest times that theocratic and quasi-regal character which is characteristic of certain priesthoods in Asia Minor, such as those of Komana and Zela, as described by Strabo.[144] For the priestesses of the Ephesian Artemis virginity was as necessary a condition as with the Vestals at Rome;[145] and if we are to believe two late writers, a law was once in force which forbade to married women or Hetairæ all access to the temple under pain of death, unless in the case of a female slave persecuted by her master.[146] The celibacy of the male priests was secured by the same irrevocable conditions which were imposed on the priesthoods of Kybelè and of several other Asiatic goddesses. Strabo says that the priests of the Ephesian Artemis were obtained from all manner of countries; and the name Megabyzos, sometimes given to the high priest, seems to indicate Persia as the country which supplied this emasculate herd. The number of sacred ministers of both sexes employed in taking care of the temple and its dedicated treasures, and in conducting the festivals, sacrifices, processions, and other ritual, must have been very great, as we see by the variety of titles indicating special offices which have been handed down to us either in ancient authors or in Ephesian inscriptions. That relating to Salutaris has added to the list several titles not known to us through any other source; such as the *Theologi*, who probably expounded sacred legends; the

Hymnodi, who composed or recited hymns in honour of the Goddess; the *Thesmodi*, who may have been utterers of oracular responses or interpreters of the traditional rubric of the ritual.

The female ministers of the Goddess were divided into three classes, the *Mellieræ* or novices, the *Hieræ* or priestesses, the *Parieræ*, who, having passed the terms of active service, had to instruct the novices. We do not know whether all these grades were included under the general term *Hierodoulæ*, or whether this name was limited to those who discharged lower menial duties, and whose ranks were recruited from fugitive female slaves, as we see by the curious story told in the Romance of Achilles Tatius.[147]

When we gather together the scattered facts which have been ascertained respecting the Artemision and certain other temples in Asia Minor, we see in their internal organisation not a few things which remind us of the monasteries of mediæval Christendom. The great landed estates, the treasures and precious works of art accumulated through many generations of pious dedicators, the time-honoured privileges of the sacred ministers, their social isolation and perpetual celibacy, are features common to both, though the result of very different influences and circumstances. But there is one institution which was probably handed on directly from expiring Paganism to new-born Christianity: that is the right of sanctuary.

The *asylum* at Ephesos is the prototype of our Whitefriars and of the sanctuary at Westminster. This privilege of protecting fugitives was very generally allowed by usage to Greek temples, but that which distinguished

the Artemision and several other great temples in Asia Minor was the extension of this privilege beyond the walls of the fane itself to a precinct round it which varied in extent in different places and in different ages. The abuse of the privilege of sanctuary was so great under the Empire, that in the reign of Tiberius the Roman Senate examined the claims of various temples in Asia Minor to the right of *asylum* and disallowed several of them. But Ephesos pleaded that the right of their Goddess had existed from time immemorial; indeed that it was Dionysos himself who, after conquering the Amazons at Ephesos, had spared those who seated themselves as suppliants on the altar of Artemis. The Ephesians might further have alleged, though Tacitus does not record the plea, that the potentates who had in turn prevailed at Ephesos, had all respected the *asylum*; that Alexander the Great had increased its area to the distance of a *stadium* from the temple; that, though Augustus reduced its limits after their undue extension by Mithradates and Mark Antony, he recognised the right of *asylum*, and fixed its boundary afresh by rebuilding the *Peribolos* wall round the temple and marking off a certain distance outside it.[148] This last fact we owe to the remarkable inscription alluded to, which Mr. Wood found in duplicate inserted in the angle of the *Peribolos*, and the discovery of which enabled him, after another year of weary digging in the deep alluvial plain below Ayasoluk, at length to find there the remains of the Artemision under twenty-two feet of soil. The particulars of this discovery have been so fully and frequently published in various forms that it is hardly necessary to repeat them here in detail, or to follow Mr. Wood step

by step and year by year in his painful and difficult exploration of the site. Our business is rather to state the final results of these researches, which, for reasons which those who read Mr. Wood's book will readily understand, took more than four years, during which 132,221 cubic yards of earth were excavated.

The restoration of the Artemision which Mr. Wood gives in his work as the result of measurement and study of the architectural remains *in situ* may be thus stated: The temple was an Ionic edifice, consisting of the usual *cella*, surrounded by a double row of columns. The length of this peristyle from east to west was 342 ft. 6½ in., and its width, 163 ft. 9½ in. The temple was octastyle, having eight columns in the front. The diameter of the columns was 6 ft. 0½ in. at the base, and their height is calculated by Mr. Wood as 8½ diameters, which, if the base is included, would amount to 55 ft. 8¾ in. The intercolumniation on the flanks was 17 ft. 1½ in., except at each extremity of the temple, where the intercolumniation was increased to 19 ft. 4 in. The reason assigned by Mr. Wood for this increased intercolumniation is that these end columns were sculptured in relief, which in some cases projected as much as 13 in. The central intercolumniation in the fronts was much wider than the others; this Vitruvius states to have been usual in Greek temples, in order that the statue of the deity might be well seen through the open door. Mr. Wood assigns 28 ft. 8½ in. for this central intercolumniation; certainly a great length to be spanned by a single block of marble, which must have been strong enough to carry the chief weight of the superincumbent pediment. If the central intercolumniation was equally

wide in the earlier temple built by Chersiphron, we can well understand why it was necessary for Artemis herself to contrive the adjustment of the vast architrave stone. Mr. Wood spaces off the remaining columns in the fronts with a gradual diminution of intercolumniation from the centre to the angles, so as to reconcile the eye more readily to the great width of the middle space. This arrangement is also followed in the great temple at Sardes. The eighteen columns at either end of the Artemision, which are severally marked with a dot on Mr. Wood's plan, are ornamented on part of their shafts with sculptures in relief, shown in the elevation. The *cella* Mr. Wood states to be nearly 70 ft. wide. The temple was raised on a platform formed by fourteen steps; the length of this platform measured on the lowest step was 418 ft. 1½ in. by 239 ft. 4½ in. Thus far Mr. Wood. Let us now compare what the ancients say as to the plan and structure of the Artemision. Vitruvius notices it as an octastyle, dipteral temple of the Ionic order. The Byzantine writer Philo states that it stood on ten steps. Pliny gives as the length of the *universum templum* 425 ft. by 225 ft.[149] These dimensions are irreconcileable with those of the peristyle, 342 ft. 6½ in. by 163 ft. 9½ in., as measured *in situ* by Mr. Wood; but his dimensions for the base of the platform, 418 ft. 1½ in. English, is not very far off Pliny's 425 ft. for the length of his *universum templum*, if we suppose that measurement is in Roman feet. His dimension, 225 ft. for the width of the same *templum*, is however hopelessly irreconcileable with the actual width of the platform, 239 ft. 4½ in., as given by Mr. Wood. Here, as constantly happens in texts of ancient authors when

numerals are given, a clerical error in the MS. has probably been repeated by successive scribes. In the same passage Pliny states the height of the columns to have been 60 ft. Roman, which is not far off Mr. Wood's calculation of 55 ft. $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. English. Pliny states that thirty-six of the columns were *cælatæ*, sculptured in relief, and Mr. Wood found portions of five drums so sculptured. In the same passage Pliny gives the whole number of columns as 127, each the gift of a king. Mr. Wood, being unable to arrange so large a number of columns within his peristyle, proposes, by inserting a comma in the original text, to make Pliny say that the number of columns in the peristyle was one hundred, of which twenty-seven were the gifts of kings. But by no ingenuity can such an interpretation be extracted out of the passage in Pliny.[150] Here again, if the passage is not corrupt, we must suppose that Pliny, writing from memory or from ill-digested notes, has given, as one total, the columns dedicated through all time in the successive temples. We have already noticed that Crœsus dedicated many of the columns of the temple which was building in his time. Between his date and that of the completion of the latest temple by Deinokrates, an interval which we may reckon as at least 250 years, there would have been time for many successive dedications by kings. The general fact that the columns of the temple were dedicated is proved by the fragments of votive inscriptions found by Mr. Wood, and given in his Appendix, No. 17.[151] These inscriptions were deeply incised on the *torus* at the foot of the fluted columns of the peristyle. One of them is a dedication by some lady of Sardes; a confirmation of

Strabo's statement that, after the temple had been burnt by Herostratos, the Ephesian women contributed their ornaments to the fund for rebuilding it.[152]

In the explanatory remarks which accompany Mr. Wood's restoration of the temple, he would have done well if he had given a clear statement, once for all, of the data on which his restoration is based, and which we only know by gathering up scattered incidental notices. Thus we find, p. 178 and p. 217, that his intercolumniation for the flanks was obtained by observing the buttresses which united the steps of the platform with the foundation piers of the columns of the peristyle, and which recurred at regular intervals, corresponding, as Mr. Wood concludes, with the position of the columns of the peristyle. Again, the width of the *cella*, a very important dimension, is proved, p. 190, by the evidence of a portion of the *cella* wall still *in situ*, combined with the traces it had left on the foundation piers of a building composed of rubble masonry which had been built within the *cella* walls in Byzantine times. On these piers could be clearly traced the impression of the stones of the *cella* walls at the height of four courses. Mr. Wood places Pliny's thirty-six *cœlatæ columnæ* at the two ends of the temple; an arrangement which, independently of other reasons, is fully borne out by the Ephesian copper coins of the Imperial period (engraved p. 266), which give a view of the temple. On this and several other Ephesian coins of the same period sculptured reliefs on the lower part of the columns are clearly distinguishable. On these coins the temple, as in Mr. Wood's restoration, is octastyle, and the great width of the doorway showing the statue inside is also roughly

indicated. Mr. Wood found at Ephesos several fragments of blocks six feet high, on which are sculptured in very high relief life-size figures in violent action (see the plates, p. 188 and p. 214) ; five of these fragments are corner-stones, because the sculpture is on two adjacent faces of the block. Mr. Wood considers that these blocks belong to the frieze of the temple, and so applies them in his restoration ; he thus obtains a frieze six feet deep in combination with an architrave four feet deep, fragments of which were found *in situ.* But these blocks appear to be too thick for a frieze. Moreover, on the upper surface of several of them there are marks which clearly show that a base column of 6 ft. 6 in. in diameter rested upon them. We are inclined therefore to adopt Mr. Fergusson's suggestion that they may have formed part of square pedestals on which the *cælatæ columnæ* stood. We should thus have the combination of a richly-sculptured shaft resting on a richly-sculptured square pedestal, a combination which may have been the prototype of Trajan's and other triumphal columns.[153] Of the cornice Mr. Wood seems only to have found the *cymatium.* The slope of his pediment is determined by two fragments of the *tympanum* found among the ruins (see p. 246).

We have now noticed the principal points in Mr. Wood's restoration which rest on sure or probable evidence. We have no intention of criticising his arrangement of the interior of the *cella,* for which the remains he discovered gave him hardly any data, except the position of the altar, behind which he places the statue of the Goddess. It would have been well if Mr. Wood had described more fully the foundations

which he discovered in the part of the *cella* where he places this altar, and which he states (p. 271) to have been large enough both for the altar and the statue of the Goddess.[154] Many fragments of the marble tiles with which the roof was covered were found lying on the pavement. Mr. Wood conjectures that the flat tiles were about 4 ft. wide; the curved tiles, *imbrices*, which covered the joints were 10½ in. wide.

After the earth had been entirely cleared away from the site of the temple, and a plan made of it, Mr. Wood took to pieces the Byzantine piers within the *cella* already referred to, and found in the rubble masonry about one hundred small fragments of archaic frieze, on some of which red and blue colour still remained. He also found remains of two marble pavements, the lowest of which was nearly 7 ft. 6 in. below the pavement of the peristyle (p. 262), and the intermediate pavement about halfway between the two. (See the plates which give the longitudinal and transverse sections of the temple.) It is evident that these three pavements belong to three different temples. The lowest must be the pavement of the temple which Chersiphron was building in the time of Crœsus, with which it was identified by the discovery below it of a layer of charcoal 3 in. thick, placed between two strata 4 in. thick of a substance of the consistency of putty, which was found on analysis to be a kind of mortar (p. 259). This is evidently the layer of charcoal which was laid in fleeces of wool under the foundation of Chersiphron's temple by the advice of Theodoros of Samos. If the pavement under which this layer was found is that of Chersiphron's

temple, it follows that the pavement next above it was that of a subsequent temple, which can be no other than that burnt by Herostratos, and thus we have a confirmation of Strabo's words, "The first architect of the Temple of Artemis was Chersiphron, then *another* enlarged it." It seems probable that by *another* Strabo referred to Demetrios and Pæonios.

At a very low level in the excavations were found a number of remains of sculpture, which from their archaic character and their resemblance to the statues from the Sacred Way at Branchidæ, and those recently found by MM. Rayet and Thomas at Miletos, evidently belong to the first of the three temples, that built by Chersiphron. Among these sculptures are a female head, on which are still traces of colour, fragments of two other female heads, and portions of the bodies of several draped female figures under life-size. All these sculptures are in high relief, and attached to a curved background, with a moulding at the foot, from the curve of which was obtained a circle 6 ft. 8 in. in diameter. It seems more than probable, therefore, that these fragments have been broken from the *cælatæ columnæ* belonging to the first temple, and that we may possess in them a relic of the very columns which Crœsus dedicated. Among the fragments of inscribed *torus* are several which, from the archaic character of the writing, must belong to the same early period.[155] Mr. Wood also found a number of lions' heads from a cornice which probably belong to Chersiphron's temple. They are several inches smaller than the lions' heads of the latest temple, which measure nearly two feet across the forehead (p. 272).

Such are the scanty and mutilated remains of that once famous temple of the great Ephesian Goddess. And here perhaps the question will occur to the reader, Why should this temple more than any other have ranked among the Seven Wonders of the ancient world? Not certainly from its great size, for the Temple of Apollo at Branchidæ, and several other temples, we know to have been larger. We can scarcely yet judge of the merits of the Artemision as an architectural design, because we cannot be sure that Mr. Wood's restoration presents it in its true proportions, but we know that the ornaments exhibit the same rich combination of force of general effect with exquisite delicacy of finish which is the characteristic of the Mausoleum and the contemporary temple of Athene Polias at Prienè. Any one who will take the trouble to compare the enriched cornice of the Mausoleum, the Prienè Temple, and the Artemision, as they are exhibited in juxtaposition at the British Museum, will see that the lions' heads and the floral ornaments of the *cymatium* in all three examples must have issued from the same school of architecture. With regard to the sculptured decorations of the Ephesian temple our knowledge is at present confined to the fragments of sculptured columns and the reliefs which Mr. Wood applies as a frieze, and our power of appreciating these remains is greatly impaired by their mutilated condition which makes it almost impossible for us to ascertain their subjects or to understand the particular action represented in each group. The most perfect of all these sculptures is the base drum, which forms the frontispiece to Mr. Wood's work. On one side of this drum, six figures, one of

whom is certainly Hermes, are represented with a skilful contrast of drapery and nude forms, of seated and standing positions, and consummate ingenuity is shown in obtaining the requisite variety of planes without disturbing the general outline of the shaft by undue projection. The sculpture, in short, is quite worthy of the age of Skopas, to whom Pliny attributes one of the *cælatæ columnæ*. But whether these sculptured shafts of the Artemision, which we find nowhere else in Greek architecture, were an improvement on the more chaste and severe forms to which our eye is accustomed in the Ionic order, or whether this peculiar mode of embellishment was not rather an Asiatic tradition, derived perhaps originally from Lydia, than the genuine offspring of Greek art, may be at present fairly considered an open question.

Mr. Wood places three tiers of these sculptured drums, one over another, in one of his fronts, while in the other façade the base drum only is sculptured, and he invites his readers to choose which they like best. We confess that sculptured drums piled on one another as they are drawn in his restoration are repugnant to our idea of Greek architecture, and seem more suitable to Herod's Beautiful Gate of the Temple at Jerusalem than to an edifice which Vitruvius cites as the standard example of perfect Ionic architecture. It is to be presumed that the pediments of the Artemision contained compositions in the round on a very large scale, but hardly a vestige was found *in situ* which could be referred to such figures.

But it was not merely on account of the beauty of its architecture that the temple of the Ephesian Diana ranked

among the Seven Wonders of the world. Like other ancient temples whose worship had attained a certain celebrity during many centuries, the Artemision had in Roman times become a museum, so great was the number of precious works of art which had been dedicated in the temple itself and its surrounding *Hieron*. We have no such detailed description of these as Pausanias has given us of the treasures which he saw in the temples at Olympia, but we know that there were sculptures by Praxiteles and Skopas, and pictures by Apelles and other celebrated painters of the Ephesian school.

The exceeding choiceness and variety of these works is attested by Vitruvius, and Pliny says that it would require volumes to describe all the wonders of the temple. With this vague and general impression we must rest content. The statue of the goddess herself was probably made of wood plated with gold, and many precious offerings may have been attached to such an idol as personal ornaments. There was in the temple a priestess of high rank, the Kosmeteira, whom we must suppose to have been a kind of Mistress of the Robes to Artemis; and, as we know from the Salutaris inscription, fines were devoted to the adornment of the goddess. From what we read of the great wealth of the temple and the magnificent luxury of the Ephesian people, we may be sure that gold was lavishly used in the ornaments not only of the goddess herself, but of the stately dwelling-place in which she was enshrined. We have a proof of this in the fragment of moulding described by Mr. Wood, p. 245, in which a narrow fillet of gold inserted between two *astragali* still remained. This discovery confirms the

truth of Pliny's statement that in a temple at Kyzikos every joint of the masonry was ornamented with a narrow thread (*filum*) of gold. That gilding was used in the decoration of the Erechtheion we know from an Attic inscription.[156]

This external splendour, which suggested to the worshippers how great were the treasures within, ultimately drew down upon the Artemision the hand of the spoiler. About the year A.D. 262, when the Goths ravaged Asia Minor, they burnt and plundered the famous shrine which Artemis herself was said to have defended from the Kimmerians, which Crœsus and Xerxes had spared, which Alexander had treated with special honour, and which all-conquering Rome had associated with the worship of her own emperors. With its destruction by the Goths the Artemision disappears from history. But what became of the enormous mass of marble which we know to have been employed in its structure, and which the Goths had no motive for destroying? After the roof was burnt successive earthquakes probably threw down the columns, and the ruins must have been piled up in enormous masses, as the ruins of the temple at Branchidæ are to this day. Then came a new set of spoilers quarrying out building materials for the great Byzantine edifices, of which the remains still exist at Ephesos. We know from Mr. Wood's discoveries that inscribed blocks from the walls of the *cella* were used in repairing the *proscenium* of the Great Theatre, and fragments of the temple may still be seen in the piers of the aqueduct, which was certainly built in the Byzantine times.

As soon as Christianity got a permanent ascendancy at

Ephesos, the destruction of the sculptures with the sledge-hammer and the limekiln would be carried on continuously as a labour of love; and, as soon as the site was sufficiently cleared of ruins to admit of a church being built on it, this was done, by following, as we have shown, the lines of the *cella* walls. This church in its turn was destroyed by the barbarous invaders of Christian Ephesos. At length when the mighty mass of ruins of the temple had been reduced to the scanty remnants found by Mr. Wood, the Kaystros and its tributaries, which once, flowing in well-embanked channels, skirted the sacred precinct of Diana, covered up the wreck of the temple with a thick mantle of alluvial deposit. Here, as at Olympia, the ancient river-god has done good service to archæology by concealing what the spoiler had spared till a fitting time for its resurrection.

And now we take our leave of Mr. Wood and his discoveries, commending his book, and above all his plan of Ephesos, to the study of all future travellers. If, transporting ourselves in thought to the jagged ridge of Peion, we look down on the ancient city with the key to its topography which we have now obtained, what a host of historical associations crowd upon our memories! In that harbour at our feet, now a reedy swamp, rode the victorious triremes of Lysander; in that *agora* hard by Agesilaos exposed the white effeminate bodies of his Persian captives to the scornful gaze of his hardy, much-enduring veterans. In that theatre, now so silent, once resounded the shouts of the tumultuous multitude who condemned St. Paul, and half a century later the acclamations of the popular assembly who rewarded the piety of Salutaris with the highest honours the city

could bestow. And now let us leave the Theatre and follow the solemn procession on its return from the assembly to the Temple; and, passing through the Koressian Gate along the paved road, lined on each side with the tombs of Ephesian dignitaries, we approach that sacred precinct where the Amazons dwelt in the præhistoric age; where the army of Alexander, fresh from its first victory over the Persians, marched in battle-array past the Temple of the great goddess of Asia, and where from time immemorial fugitives sought shelter in the hospitable sanctuary of Artemis.

When we think how much history has gained by the exploration, partial and inadequate as it has been, of the ruins of Ephesos; when we review the marvellous discoveries which have recently taken place in Cyprus and the Troad, and which are actually now going on at Olympia and Mycenæ, we feel bound to ask the question, Why, in a generation distinguished beyond all previous generations for historical research, for wealth, leisure, and facilities for travelling, so little has been done for the investigation of the sites of ancient cities? The explorers of Greece and Turkey half a century ago had neither steam to convey them to distant coasts, nor the practical knowledge of archæology which we now possess to guide their researches, nor photographers to record their discoveries, nor an electric telegraph wherewith to maintain communication with a distant base of operations. We, with all these appliances, and with boundless wealth at the command of individuals, if not of governments, grudge for these great enterprises the money which is daily wasted on trivial and ignoble objects. Why has England no Schliemanns?

Dr. SCHLIEMANN'S DISCOVERIES at MYCENÆ.*

In the ancient Hippodrome at Constantinople, better known to tourists as the Atmeidan, still stands a relic saved from the wreck of precious offerings once stored up in the temple of Apollo at Delphi. After the Persian war the victors at Platæa dedicated as a thank-offering to the Delphic Apollo a gold tripod mounted on a bronze pillar composed of three intertwined serpents. The gold tripod has long since disappeared in the crucible, but the bronze pillar was transferred by Constantine the Great from Delphi to his new capital, and has survived to our times. The three heads of the serpents—an attractive mark for Moslem iconoclasts—have been broken off, one by one, since the time of Mahomet II.; but on the coils of the triple snake may still be read the original dedicatory inscription graven on the bronze about the 76th Olympiad (476–73 B.C.). It contains the names of those Greek states which took part in the battle of Platæa, and among these names we find that of the Mycenæans, whose city, once the seat of a mighty

* "Edinburgh Review," 1878. The references in this article are made throughout to Dr. Schliemann's "Narrative of Researches, etc., at Mycenæ." London. 1878.

dynasty, had, at the time of the Persian war, shrunk into comparative insignificance, overshadowed by the growing power of its jealous neighbour, Argos.[157] When the Greeks of the Peloponnese first collected an army to defend Thermopylæ, the Mycenæans refused to form part of the Argive contingent, and preferred associating their little band with the Lacedæmonians. They contributed eighty men to the heroic defence of Thermopylæ, and, together with their neighbours from Tiryns, mustered four hundred strong at Platæa; but their refusal to serve under the Argive banner probably contributed to hasten the catastrophe by which their city was soon after destroyed. Mycenæ was taken by the Argives B.C. 468, and never again reappears in history as an independent state.

That a city, only capable of sending so small a contingent to Thermopylæ and Platæa, should have had such pretensions to independence as to provoke the jealousy of a powerful state like Argos may be accounted for, if we consider the strength of Mycenæ as a military position at the time of the Persian war. Its citadel was built on an isolated rock situated, as Homer truly describes it, "in a recess" at the foot of hills which bound Argolis on the north. While its distance from the coast protected it from sudden inroads of pirates, its position near the Argive frontier gave it the command of the roads leading to Corinth and to the cities of Arkadia. The steep rock of the Akropolis had been rendered almost impregnable by fortifications which, though executed in that remote period, when the myth is the substitute for history, still excite our wonder and admiration by the massive solidity of their structure and the skill with which they are designed. Independently of its military

importance, the fortress of Mycenæ had traditions which could well vie with those of its proud and implacable neighbour. If Argos could boast of its long line of kings, beginning from Phoroneus, son of the river-god Inachos, its legend of Danaos, Akrisios, and Perseus, Mycenæ could refer with just pride to that Pelopid dynasty which, under Agamemnon, "ruled over many islands and all Argos," and whose king commanded the mighty host with which united Hellas besieged and captured Troy. If we look back through the long series of Argive myths which record the successive changes of dynasty from Phoroneus to Perseus, and from the Perseidæ to the Atreidæ, we find from a very early period traces of that antagonism between Argos and Mycenæ which lasted down into historic times. Both were strong fortresses, overlooking the fertile plain which extends from the mountains to the coast, and the possessor of either would naturally appropriate as much of this plain as he could wrest from his neighbours. A third fortress which plays a part in this legendary history is Tiryns, a place of great strength, which must have served to protect Argolis from invaders landing at Nauplia, and which at times, according to the myths, was ruled by an independent prince. Now, if the dynasty of Atreidæ had the extended empire which Homer ascribes to it in the time of Agamemnon, it is to be presumed that the rulers of Argos and Tiryns and the other fortresses in Argolis acknowledged as their suzerain the king who ruled in Mycenæ. This wide spread sway of the Pelopidæ on which Homer so emphatically dwells, though it rested only on tradition, and was not supported by what we should call historical evidence, was to the Greek mind

a real fact, which the most sceptical of their historians would hardly have ventured to dispute. In their eyes Agamemnon was not, as one school of modern critics regard him, a mere shadow projected on the blank background of an unknown past, and of which we shall never grasp the substance. This *magni nominis umbra* to the ancients suggested a real personality—a king whose disastrous fate, coming so soon after his triumphant return from Troy, served in after ages as the favourite theme of epic and tragic poetry; his memory, embalmed in the immortal verse of Æschylos and his brother dramatists, still lives on, and it is not without violence to deep-rooted associations that an old-fashioned scholar can train himself to think of Agamemnon as merely a name representing a dynasty, still less as one of the *dramatis personæ* in a solar myth.

How much of the story of Agamemnon is really to be accepted as fact, and by what test we may discriminate between that which is merely plausible fiction and that residuum of true history which can be detected under a mythic disguise in this and other Greek legends, are problems as yet unsolved, notwithstanding the immense amount of erudition and subtle criticism which has been expended on them. At the present stage of the inquiry we may venture to assert that a solution of such problems is not to be found, if we confine our researches to Greek and Roman literature. There remains the question, Is there any evidence other than that contained in ancient literature which is worthy of consideration in this case? The recent discoveries on the site of Mycenæ have led many students of history to believe that such evidence is at length obtained, and we now

propose to examine more closely the grounds for such a belief.

Before discussing the discoveries of Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ, it may be well to notice the remains on that site which have been so often visited and described by travellers during the present century. Thucydides speaks of the remains at Mycenæ in his time as insignificant in proportion to the former greatness of the royal residence of the Atreidæ. Strabo, who seems never to have personally visited the interior of the Peloponnese, and to whom archæological information was only of secondary importance, states that in his day, at the close of the first century B.C., not a vestige was to be found on the site of this once famous city. About a century and a half after Strabo wrote, that diligent topographer Pausanias visited Mycenæ, and noticed the walls round the citadel, the great gateway leading into it, and the lions surmounting the gateway. These walls, he adds, were the work of the Cyclopes, who built the walls of Tiryns for Proitos. He also mentions certain subterranean buildings in which Atreus and his sons deposited their treasure. The travellers who visited Mycenæ early in the present century had no difficulty in recognising the ruins described by Pausanias. The Akropolis occupies a rocky height which projects from the foot of the mountain behind it in the form of an irregular triangle. The south flank of this natural fortress is protected by a deep gorge, through which winds the bed of a torrent usually dry in summer. On the north side is a glen stretching east and west. Between these two ravines the ground slopes down to the plain in terraces, through which may still be traced the line of an ancient way leading from the principal

gate of the Akropolis to a bridge over the torrent, the foundations of which may still be seen. At intervals on either side of this road are the remains of five of the buildings called by Pausanias Treasuries; and here, extending over the space of about a square mile to the west, south-west, and east of the Akropolis, must have stood the lower city, connected with the Akropolis by a wall, some traces of which may still be seen near the great gateway.

The walls of the Akropolis are said to be more perfect than those of any fortress in Greece, and range in height from 13 ft. to 35 ft., with an average thickness of 16 ft. Originally they were probably much higher. The area which they enclose is rather more than 1000 ft. in length. They exhibit several kinds of masonry, which Dr. Schliemann classifies in three periods. The masonry of the first period is composed of large unwrought blocks, the interstices being closed by smaller stones wedged in. This construction is identical with that of the walls at Tiryns, except that the blocks are smaller; and this is certainly what the ancients meant by Cyclopean masonry. In the second period the walls are built of polygons with hewn joints, so well fitted as to seem one solid face of wall. Of this more skilful structure many examples may be seen in Greece and Etruria.[153] In the third kind of masonry at Mycenæ blocks almost quadrangular are arranged in nearly parallel courses, but their joints are not always vertical. This masonry is used in the walls on either side of the great gateway. Near the north-east corner a gallery has been made in the thickness of the wall, and extends for rather more than 16 ft. At Tiryns we find such galleries on a much

larger scale. One of these Dr. Schliemann states to be 90 ft. long and nearly 8 ft. broad. In its external wall it has six recesses or window-openings, with triangular-headed roofs formed of approaching stones. These galleries evidently served as covered ways leading from one guardroom or tower to another; while the openings may be regarded as embrasures where archers might be stationed. Such passages are, we believe, unknown in later Greek fortification; indeed, the average thickness of the walls would hardly admit of them. The great gateway in the N.W. corner of the citadel, usually known as the Lions' Gate, stands at right angles to the adjacent wall, and is approached by a passage 50 ft. long and 30 ft. wide, formed by that wall and another running parallel to it, which, according to Dr. Schliemann, forms one side of a large square tower erected as a flanking defence. The gateway is nearly 11 ft. high, with a width of 10 ft. below. The lintel is a single block 15 ft. long and 8 ft. broad. Over it is a triangular gap in the masonry, for the insertion of the slab on which the lions are sculptured. This slab is 10 ft. high, 12 ft. long at the base, and 2 ft. thick. The lions stand, like heraldic supporters, on either side of a column which rests on a base, thought by some to be an altar. The style of sculpture of these lions differs as completely from all other remains of archaic Greek sculpture as the column between them differs in type from the earliest specimens of Doric or Ionic architecture.

On the lower ground lying to the south-west of the Akropolis are the so-called Treasuries. The largest of these is the building commonly called the Treasury of Atreus. The interior is a chamber 50 ft. high and of

equal diameter, resembling in form a beehive. It is built of well-wrought rectangular blocks of breccia, laid in horizontal courses which approach gradually till they converge in the apex. This kind of vaulting, formed by approaching horizontal courses, may be called Egyptian, as the earliest example of it is found in a gallery in the interior of the Great Pyramid. Such a vault would of course owe its stability to vertical pressure, while the lateral thrust would be very much less than in any variety of the keystone arch, and at Mycenæ any such lateral pressure was amply provided for by enormous masses of stone piled against the outer face of the courses of the masonry. Over these rude outside buttresses earth was heaped to the level of the apex of the chamber, so that it was completely subterraneous. The blocks of the lower courses are 1 ft. 10 in. high and from 4 ft. to 7 ft. long. As the courses ascend, the blocks of which they are built gradually diminish in size. From the fourth course upwards these blocks are severally pierced with two holes bored in the breccia for the reception of bronze nails, several of which have been found entire. They have broad flat heads, and it is very generally agreed that they originally served to attach to the walls the plates of copper with which we may suppose the chamber to have been once lined.[159]

A *dromos*, or way, upwards of 20 ft. wide, and flanked by massive parallel walls of the same masonry as the chamber, leads up to the doorway, which is 18 ft. high, with a width of 9 ft. 2 in. at the bottom and rather less at the top. The lintel is formed of two immense slabs, of which the inner one measures 3 ft. 9 in. in thickness, with a breadth of 17 ft., and a length of 29 ft.

on its upper and $27\frac{1}{2}$ ft. on its lower surface. This enormous block is perfectly wrought and polished. Above the lintel is a triangular niche, each side of which measures 10 ft., and which was probably filled up with a sculptured slab.

It may be inferred from various holes pierced in the stones of the doorway that the entrance, like the interior of this building, was anciently decorated. The side of the doorway was originally ornamented with semi-columns, fragments of which were still lying about *in situ* when Colonel Leake visited Mycenæ at the beginning of this century. He describes them as having a base and capital not unlike the Tuscan order in profile, but enriched with a very elegant ornament, chiefly zigzag, sculptured in relief, which was continued in vertical compartments over the whole shaft. Other fragments which have been found at Mycenæ indicate that the doorway was ornamented with strips of stone, on which are sculptured in low relief spiral and other ornaments. The material of these fragments was green, red, or yellow marble. They are engraved in the fifth volume of Stuart's "Athens." The recent excavations by Mr. Stamataki at the entrance to this tomb have brought to light many more fragments of these ornaments, which, it is hoped, will furnish the data for a more certain restoration of the doorway than has yet been possible.[160]

As has been often remarked, the character of these ornaments resembles nothing in later Greek architecture; indeed, so strange is their aspect, that the authors of the French Expédition Scientifique were inclined to believe

that the fragments collected by travellers were of Byzantine origin.[161] The three other subterranean buildings at Mycenæ are of smaller dimensions and are not so well preserved as the so-called Treasury of Atreus.

We have now indicated the peculiar features of the site of Mycenæ as it appeared to travellers before the recent discoveries were made by Dr. Schliemann. These features have been described again and again by Leake, Dodwell, Gell, Mure, E. Curtius, and other authorities, who nearly all agree in referring the ruins of Mycenæ and Tiryns to the same period of remote antiquity to which, as we have already stated, not only Pausanias in the second century A.D., but Pindar and the tragedians, attributed them. The extent of the fortifications, the peculiar character of the masonry; the huge blocks employed at Tiryns and in the Treasury of Atreus, the transport and fixing of which must have been a very difficult and costly operation; the style of the architectural ornaments over the Lions' Gate and at the entrance to the Treasury of Atreus, so estranged from the associations of later Hellenic art, all predisposed the minds of modern travellers and archæologists to accept generally the tradition of antiquity that at Mycenæ and Tiryns we have remains of the heroic age. There is no spot in Greece where the *admonitus loci* has acted more strongly on the imagination than Mycenæ. The traveller, as he comes over the mountain-pass from the interior, looks down on the ancient kingdom of the Atreidæ, as Orestes is invited to look down on it in the "Elektra" of Sophokles; when again he stands within the Akropolis, and from its dismantled

walls looks out on the plain of Argolis below him, with Tiryns and Nauplia and the sea in the distance, and the Heraion and Argos on either side, he is reminded of that ancient Watchman who tells us at the opening of the "Agamemnon" how long he had strained his weary eyes looking out for the beacon-light which was to tell of the capture of Troy. But it is in the Gateway of the Lions that these associations crowd on the mind with the greatest intensity. To the believer in the tale of Troy the very stones of this threshold seem to give back a faint echo of that far-off day when Agamemnon, in the first flush of dear-bought victory, entered that fatal gateway unheeding the warning voice of Kassandra in his ear.

Thus it was that most of the travellers who visited Mycenæ in the early part of this century gazed on its remains with a reverent faith, something like that with which pilgrims to some time-hallowed shrine regard the jealously guarded relics which they are at length permitted to behold. But, if the mere aspect of so famous a site suggested so much to the archæologist, what might not be expected from its systematic exploration? From the time of Gell and Dodwell to our own generation, the excavation of Mycenæ has been earnestly desired by those who have most studied the antiquities and topography of Greece. We shall not now stop to inquire why so obvious an enterprise was not undertaken long ago, either by the Greek Government or by some private society; our business here is to show how much has been accomplished by the untiring enthusiasm and liberality of one man, whose achievement entitles him to the gratitude not of Greece merely, but of all civilised races, so

long as the human Past shall have any interest for mankind.

In the year 1874 Dr. Schliemann first made some tentative diggings within the Akropolis at Mycenæ. The results were encouraging; but it was not till August, 1876, that, having obtained the necessary permission from the Greek Government, he began the work of exploration on an adequate scale. The three objects to which he first addressed himself were the clearing out the Treasury nearest the Lions' Gate, the removal of the ruins which blocked up the gate itself, and the digging a deep trench from north to south across the lower part of the Akropolis, where he had already sunk shafts in 1874. This part of the citadel falls with a considerable slope from the highest part of the Akropolis towards the north-west, and here Dr. Schliemann encountered a great depth of soil, partly due to the accumulation of detritus from the rocky ground above. In the upper part of this soil various specimens of archaic pottery, and implements, and other antiquities in metal, bone, or clay, were found in abundance. Soon lines of walls built of unwrought stones in Cyclopean masonry began to appear; then *stelæ* or tombstones of calcareous stone, on which were rude figures in relief; four of these tombstones stood in a line north and south, and scattered about were fragments of others. The ground on which these tombstones stood was a circular area 90 ft. in diameter, enclosed all round by a double row of parallel rectangular slabs of calcareous stone. These slabs were originally set on end in a vertical or nearly vertical position, and held together by cross slabs, which have been fitted on to their upper

ends with a mortice and tenon joint. The southern part of this enclosing circle rested on a massive rough-hewn wall of Cyclopean masonry, which was evidently built to bring the earth within the circular area up to a level, as the ground here falls abruptly towards the outer wall of the citadel. Immediately to the north and south of the circular area were a number of foundation walls of Cyclopean masonry, enclosing spaces which Dr. Schliemann calls the rooms and corridors of houses of a præhistoric period, and all these foundations lying round the circular area are bounded by a Cyclopean wall, which, starting from the north side of the Lions' Gate, runs for some distance nearly north and south, and then, turning at a right-angle nearly to the west, is continued to the western outer wall of the citadel.

The whole space enclosed between this inner wall and the western outer wall appears on Dr. Schliemann's plan like a *temenos*, set apart from the rest of the Akropolis for some special purpose, while the discovery of the tombstones within the circular area at once suggested that it had been a place of sepulture. Going lower here Dr. Schliemann soon came on vestiges which confirmed this opinion. At the depth of 3 ft. below the level of the tombstones he found two oblong blocks of stone, 5 ft. 7 in. long, 1 ft. broad, and 7 in. thick, lying one on the other; and at their south end a smaller slab in an oblique position; below these occurred here and there small quantities of black ashes, in which were studs plated with gold, and other curious objects. On reaching the native rock a quadrangular tomb cut in the rock was discovered (No. 1 of Plan B, p. 293). This tomb at the brink was 21 ft. 6 in. long by 10 ft. 10 in. in

width, but this area was much reduced at the bottom by a wall faced with schistous slabs, which lined the four sides of the cutting to a height of 6½ ft., and projected all round 3 feet from the face of the rock. At the bottom of this grave, 15 ft. below the level of the rock, and 25 ft. below the surface of the ground before it had been opened by the excavations, Dr. Schliemann found a layer of pebbles, on which lay the remains of three bodies distant 3 feet from one another. From the marks of fire on the pebbles and round these remains, and from the undisturbed state of the ashes, Dr. Schliemann concludes that these three bodies had been partially burnt at the bottom of the grave. All three had been placed with their heads to the east, and appeared to have been forcibly squeezed into the space left for them between the lining walls, which did not exceed 5 ft. 6 in. The body which lay at the north end of the tomb had the face covered with a heavy gold mask (No. 473, p. 333), and on the breast was a gold breastplate, 15⅗ in. long and 9½ in. broad (No. 458). On removing these a sight so marvellous presented itself to the astonished eyes of Dr. Schliemann that we must let him tell the tale in his own words:

The round face, with all its flesh, had been wonderfully preserved under its ponderous gold mask; there was no vestige of hair, but both eyes were perfectly visible, also the mouth, which, owing to the enormous weight that had pressed on it, was wide open and showed thirty-two beautiful teeth. . . . The nose was entirely gone. The body having been too long for the space between the two inner walls of the tomb, the head had been pressed in such a manner on the breast that the upper part of the shoulders was nearly in a horizontal line with the vertex of the head. Notwithstanding the large gold breastplate, so little had been preserved of the breast that the inner side of the spine was visible in many places. In its squeezed and

mutilated state the body measured only 2 ft. 4½ in. from the top of the head to the beginning of the loins; the breadth of the shoulders did not exceed 1 ft. 1¼ in. and the breadth of the chest 1 ft. 3 in. . . . . Such had been the pressure of the *débris* and stones that the body had been reduced to a thickness of from 1 in. to 1½ in. The colour of the body resembled that of an Egyptian mummy. The forehead was ornamented with a plain round leaf of gold, and a still larger one was lying on the right eye. I further observed a large and a small gold leaf on the breast below the gold breast-cover, and a large one just above the right thigh (p. 296).

These remains were of course in a very crumbling and evanescent condition, and Dr. Schliemann, fearing that they would not long resist the impact of the external air, had a painting made at once, from which a cut is given in his book. The body, however, held out two days, when it was rendered hard and solid by the ingenuity of a druggist from Argos, who poured over it a solution of gum sandarac and alcohol.

Across the loins lay a gold sword-belt (No. 455), in the middle of which the fragment of a double-edged bronze sword was firmly attached. On the right lay two bronze swords (No. 460), the handle of one of which is of bronze, thickly plated with gold, and richly ornamented. The handle of the other sword and the scabbards of both must have been of wood, as oblong and circular gold plates, ornamented with designs in relief, were lying alongside the sword-blades, just where we might expect to find them, had they been attached to wood since decayed. Near the swords was found a tassel made of long shreds of very thin gold plate, which probably was attached to a sword-belt (No. 461). At the distance of little more than a foot to the right of the body were lying eleven bronze swords, mostly decayed. There were in the same part of the tomb

124 round studs, plain or ornamented, of which the four largest are the size of five-franc pieces; and six ornaments, which Dr. Schliemann calls crosses, but which might be better described as lozenge-shaped (No. 500). All these ornaments were of wood plated with gold.

To the right of the body was a large gold drinking-cup, six inches in diameter, with one handle (No. 475), encircled with a row of arched ornaments in *repoussé* work, which have a curious resemblance in outline to a Roman aqueduct. With the body at the south end of this tomb were fifteen swords, of which ten were placed at the feet, and between this body and the one in the middle of the tomb was a large heap of broken swords, which Dr. Schliemann calculates to have amounted to more than sixty, also a few bronze knives.

The remains of the central body appeared to have been disturbed after interment. The layer of clay and the upper layer of pebbles with which the other two bodies and their ornaments had been covered had been removed from this one, which was moreover nearly destitute of gold ornaments. Dr. Schliemann thinks that some sacrilegious marauder of later times must have sunk a shaft in the centre of the tomb, and plundered this part of the grave. This would account for the gold studs and other objects which he found scattered in the upper soil in digging down to this tomb (p. 152), and which may have been dropped by the plunderer in his hasty raid. The catalogue of what was found in this wonderful tomb is not yet finished. Besides the objects already enumerated which were found on or near the three bodies, Dr. Schliemann mentions two more gold cups; the remains of a vase partly of silver and partly

of copper plated with gold, which must, when entire, have been 2 ft. 6 in. high, with a diameter of 1 ft. 8 in. at the shoulder; eight large pommels for sword-hilts, of which seven were carved in alabaster, and one of wood, all ornamented with gold nails; also a large alabaster vase, of which the mouth was mounted in bronze plated with gold, and which contained a quantity of studs which had been originally of wood plated with gold. No less than three hundred and forty of the gold plates of these studs were found in the tomb. Many of them were richly embossed with patterns, which will be noticed farther on. This tomb also contained many fragments of wooden instruments and boxes, among which the most interesting were two sides of a small quadrangular casket, on each of which was carved in relief a lion and a dog. Food seems also to have been deposited in this tomb, as a number of oyster-shells, and among them several unopened oysters, were found in it, also a large number of boar's teeth.

As Dr. Schliemann continued to explore the ground within the circular enclosure, he soon came on other tombs, the contents of which were equally surprising. We will take the largest of these (No. 4 of Plan B). Digging through a part of the circular area where no tombstone stood, he found black soil, which had evidently never been disturbed since a remote antiquity, and at 20 ft. below the surface he struck upon an elliptical mass of masonry with a large opening like a well. At the depth of 6½ ft. below was a tomb hewn in the rock 24 ft. long, 18½ ft. broad; the bottom of this tomb was 33 ft. below the level of the upper soil. All round the sides was a slanting wall of schist 7 ft. 8 in. high, which projected

4 ft., and thus considerably diminished the area of the tomb at the bottom, on which lay the remains of five men, three with the head to the east, the other two with the head to the north. The bodies had evidently been burnt on the spot where they lay, as was proved by the abundance of ashes on and about each corpse, and the marks of fire on the pebbles and the schist. Upon the remains of the bodies lay a layer three or four inches thick of white clay, on which was a second layer of pebbles. On removing these layers a treasure equal in interest and value to that of the tomb already described was suddenly revealed. As the account of the contents of this one tomb occupies not less than seventy-four pages of the volume before us, we can only indicate here the principal classes of objects discovered. On the faces of three out of the five men here interred had been massive gold masks. Two of these bodies had a large gold breastplate, and close to the head of one was a magnificent gold band (No. 337). To the thigh-bone of one of the bodies was attached a gold strap, supposed to have served for fastening the greave, *knemis*. In the same precious material were three shoulder-belts; ten plates to cover the pommels of sword-hilts; the remains of a sceptre, or perhaps a *caduceus* (p. 287, Nos. 451, 452), richly inlaid with rock crystal; an unusually large and massive armlet; two large signet rings, on one of which a hunting scene and on the other a battle were engraved in intaglio (Nos. 334, 335); not to mention endless studs and smaller personal ornaments. This tomb, like the one already described, had its little armoury of weapons. No less than forty-six bronze swords, more or less fragmentary, were taken from it. With these were found several

alabaster pommels of swords and fragments of wooden scabbards, together with the gold plates with which they were once ornamented, and the gold pins and nails with which these ornaments were fastened. Lances, too, were not wanting; the wooden shafts, though seeming entire on their first discovery, crumbled away on exposure to air. In one place thirty-five arrow-heads of obsidian lay in a heap; their wooden shafts had perished either from decay or cremation. Oyster-shells and unopened oysters here, as in the tomb already described, indicated that the living had not forgotten to provide food for the dead; but this tomb contained in addition a whole *batterie de cuisine*, in the shape of thirty-two large copper cauldrons, and other vessels of copper which stood upright along the walls of the tomb. The cauldrons must be among the largest which have come down to us from Hellenic antiquity. Three of these have a diameter ranging from fourteen to twenty inches. Most of these vessels bore signs of having been long used on the fire. It might have been expected from the analogy of the famous Royal tomb near Kertch, called the Koul Oba, that remains of food would be found in these cauldrons. This does not seem to have been the case, but one of them contained no less than 100 large and small wooden studs, plated with gold. We will conclude our list of the objects found in this tomb by drawing attention to the nine gold cups, one of which, No. 344, weighs four pounds Troy; the two wine jugs, one of gold, the other of silver; the ox's head of silver with horns of gold, No. 327; the silver vase in the form of a stag, No. 376, and the three-handled alabaster cup, No. 356.

We must now describe the contents of a somewhat

smaller tomb (No. 3 of Plan B), rather more than 16 ft. long and 10 ft. broad, cut in the rock, and lined with sloping walls of schist and clay, like those already described. In this tomb were the remains of three persons, thought to be women, on account of the smallness of the bones, and particularly the teeth, and the quantity of female ornaments. All had the head turned to the east. Under and above them was the usual layer of pebbles. The bottom of the tomb was nearly 30 ft. below the surface of the upper soil. The bodies had evidently been burnt as they lay, and had been literally laden with jewels, all of which bore marks of fire and smoke. The ornaments were for the most plates of gold with a design in *repoussé* work. Of these no less than 701 were collected, some of which must have been strewn all over the bottom of the sepulchre before the funeral pyre was prepared, and the rest laid on the bodies before the fire was kindled. The subjects of the designs are a sepia or cuttle-fish, a flower, a butterfly, various spiral patterns, all contained within the circle of a disk. Other plates again were cut in outline, so as to imitate fan-shaped leaves. In another class of jewels animals or the human figure were not relieved on a ground, but embossed and cut out in outline, like the *emblemata* of later Greek art. Among these designs we find three Gryphons (No. 261), a crouching lion, a naked female figure with a dove flying from each shoulder, and another perched on her head (Nos. 267, 268), another draped figure, the hands joined in the middle of the bosom (No. 273), butterflies, cuttle-fish, lions, Hippocampi, Sphinxes, and other varieties of animal life. In some of these ornaments quadrupeds or birds are combined in pairs, and rest on a

triple branch growing like a palm. These seem to have formed the heads of pins for brooches. On the head of one of the persons interred was found a magnificent ornament in the form of a band, 2 ft. 1 in. long, tapering to both ends, in which were set thirty-six large leaves, which must have stood upright (p. 185, No. 281). Dr. Schliemann describes this and other similar bands as crowns, but their scale seems too large for a headdress, and their form seems more like that of the *mitra*, worn as part of the Greek panoply. There were also five diadems similar, but much less rich in character, and a number of detached flowers and stars made in the same manner. The quantity of gold, agate, and amber beads in this tomb shows that many necklaces must have been deposited in it. Three small rectangular ornaments of gold (Nos. 253–55), of an oblong form and perforated through their length, may have formed part of necklaces, if they were not mounted in swivel rings. On one side of each of these a design is rudely carved in intaglio. The three subjects are, a man, perhaps Herakles, fighting with a lion; two warriors fighting; and a lion kneeling on rocky ground and looking back as if wounded. Some curious ornaments, composed of spirals of fine gold wire, may be parts of necklaces or bracelets, while other combinations of spirals may have been used, as Dr. Schliemann conjectures, to bind together separate tresses and locks of hair. The provision for the toilet for the nether world was clearly shown by the remains of a gold comb with teeth of bone, two small boxes of gold, and three large vases in the same metal, all with covers fastened on with gold wires in a very primitive manner; an alabaster

scoop (No. 325) fashioned as if to represent a hollow formed by two hands in juxtaposition. Such objects may be regarded as the prototypes of the *pyxides* and other *mundus muliebris* so often found in Greek tombs, and of which they at once remind the archæologist; but some of the other antiquities found in this tomb are quite new to us, as for instance the four rectangular boxes (see No. 323) made of sheet copper, each of which is 10 in. long, 5 in. high, and 4½ in. wide; these were found filled with fairly preserved wood, and had, it is supposed, been covered with a thick wooden plate. They were lying near the heads of the dead, and Dr. Schliemann conjectures that they may have been pillows. Remains of wood were also found in twelve gold hollow tubes; these probably belong to distaffs or spindles, and the two silver rods which have been plated with gold, and which terminate in crystal knobs, were probably used for the same purpose. The three other tombs, though not quite so remarkable as those which we have already noticed, contained much that is new to us, and worthy of a careful study. But no idea can be formed of the splendour and variety of these objects without reference to the cuts and engravings with which this volume is profusely illustrated.

Such were the marvellous contents of the five tombs within the circular enclosure on the Akropolis. But the treasure was not yet exhausted, for, close to the circular area, was a rectangular cutting in the rock, lined with a roughly-built wall of stones on its eastern and northern faces. On excavating here no remains of bodies or evidence of cremation were detected, but several curious objects, similar to those deposited in the five tombs, were

found at the bottom of the cutting. The most remarkable of these objects were a gold couching lion, evidently the ornament of a large *fibula*; four gold cups, of which the handles terminate in dogs' heads at their upper attachment to the rim; and two large gold rings. On the oval chaton of one of these (p. 354, No. 530) is represented a most curious scene. On the left a female figure is seated on rocks at the foot of a tree, possibly intended for a palm tree; behind her a smaller figure appears to be gathering fruit from one of the branches; in her left hand the seated figure holds out three poppy-heads; before her stands another female figure advancing her right hand as if to receive the poppy-heads; and between these two figures another smaller female figure stands immediately in front of the knees of the seated figure, holding up a flower as if offering it. Behind the taller standing figure, and on the extreme right of the scene, is another female figure holding flowers in either hand. Between the seated figure and the taller figure standing in front of her we see a double-edged battle-axe, or, perhaps, a pair of such axes. Between the two taller standing figures is what appears to be a Palladium, in the hand of which is a spear held very much as it is shown in the ancient representation of the Palladium. Between this figure and the top of the tree on the opposite side of the scene we see the sun and crescent moon, below which is a double wavy line bent round in a curve, which may represent the sea. Behind the standing figure on the extreme left six objects are ranged on the edge of the chaton, so as to follow its curve. These objects are thought by Dr. Schliemann to be masks representing Corinthian helmets. We have

examined them repeatedly with a powerful lens, and can only see in them the faces of lions or panthers; the ears, which are distinctly visible, are entirely feline in character. The dresses of all the female figures are very curious. Across the skirts of the two standing figures are raised horizontal ridges which may be the edges of upper garments falling over the innermost garment. On the surface of the skirts zigzag lines may be traced which probably represent embroidered patterns; on one figure this pattern looks like overlapping scales.

The intaglio on the oval chaton of the other gold ring presents an equally strange subject. Here we see two parallel rows of animals' heads, between which is a row of small disks or bosses. In the upper row an ox's head is placed between two heads which, on the whole, it is safest to consider as representing lions; in the lower row there is a counterchange; between the heads of two oxen is a single lion's head. On the extreme left is something which seems like wheat-ears growing from a single stem, and opposite, on the extreme right, is a single plant or flower.

We have now indicated the main features of Dr. Schliemann's memorable discovery in the Mycenæan citadel; and here several questions naturally present themselves. To what race and period are we to assign the remains in these tombs? Are they Hellenic or præ-Hellenic? What is their relation chronologically to that ancient citadel within the walls of which they were found? Did the lions over the gateway guard this immense sepulchral treasure, and for how long? What, again, is their connection with the buildings popularly

called Treasuries, below the Akropolis? Do the legends of the house of the Atreidæ throw any light on these sepulchral remains within their citadel? And, again, do these remains illustrate or corroborate these legends?

Before we attempt to deal with the complicated problem involved in these questions, it may be well to interrogate the remains themselves, and ascertain what evidence archæology can extract from them. Now in the outset of such an inquiry we must bear in mind that the contents of these tombs show us, as might indeed have been expected, that the same custom which prevailed through the ancient pagan world generally prevailed also at Mycenæ. The dead were regarded as personages deserving of pious attention from the living, and therefore their sepulchres were furnished with such things as in this life they took delight in. The sentiment conveyed in Virgil's well-known lines:

> Quæ gratia currum
> Armorumque fuit vivis . . . .
> . . . . eadem sequitur tellure repostos—

was not confined to Greece and Italy. Modern research has shown how the Scandinavian, Celtic, or Scythian warrior was buried not only with his armour and weapons, but with his war-chariot, his horse, and sometimes with abundant supplies of raiment, food, and wine for his banquets in the other world. We also know that, in proportion to the rank and wealth of the deceased, was the preciousness of the offerings deposited with him in the tomb. Now it may be fairly inferred, from the large amount of gold found in the Mycenæan tombs, that the bodies so lavishly decorated were those of personages

distinguished in their day for wealth and power; and, if this was the case, it may be assumed that the art employed in fashioning all this gold into ornaments was the best art which was available in Mycenæ at the time when the deposit of this treasure was made.

If the criteria by which we are in the habit of judging of the art of the Greeks and other ancient races are applied to these Mycenæan antiquities, we shall find that they rank very low in the scale. They present to us, it is true, considerable vigour and invention in the designing of mere patterns and ornaments, but in almost every case in which the representation of animal life is attempted we see a feebleness of execution, the result of barbarous ignorance; those qualities and proportions of visible nature, on the observation of which the representation of organic beings in art depends, are either not perceived at all, or are so rendered as to be unintelligible. In support of this criticism we would refer our readers to the illustrations in the work before us, which are sufficiently faithful to give those who have not seen the originals a fair impression of their merits. To begin with the gold masks. Two of these are so crushed out of shape that perhaps it is hardly fair to subject them to criticism, but the other two (No. 331, p. 220, and No. 474, p. 289) have suffered but little. After reading Dr. Schliemann's glowing description of these masks on the first announcement of their discovery, we confess that it was not without a shudder that we first beheld these hideous libels on the "human face divine." As representations of life, we can hardly rate them much higher than the work of New Zealanders and other savages. In No. 331 the width from ear to ear is so dis-

proportionate that the whole mask takes the form of an oval, of which the longest diameter is at right angles to the nose. Let us hope that no race so repulsive as this specimen ever dwelt in the fortress of the Atreidæ. The other mask, No. 474, is a little more comely; the nose, though almost devoid of nostril, has the merit of being straight, and the moustache, beard, and eyebrows are tolerably rendered. But there is the same disproportionate width from the outer corners of the eyes to the ears, and there is no attempt to model the features. Dr. Schliemann thinks that these masks are meant to be portraits of the persons on whose remains they were found. This is more than probable, and the artist may have had the assistance of a squeeze in clay or wax taken from the face after death. If he had sufficient skill to use this squeeze as a matrix, he may have obtained a cast in relief from it. Our belief is that, having obtained such a cast in some yielding material, he copied that by hand, carving it out in wood or some material hard enough to hammer gold upon. We may thus account for the curious realism in such details as the moustache and beard, the smooth surface of which suggests the notion that oil or grease had been applied to this part of the face to make the mould deliver, as is done now by *formatori*.[162]

We have already mentioned that on the tombstones above the sepulchres were subjects sculptured in relief. On one of these (p. 81) in an oblong sinking is a figure standing in a chariot drawn by a quadruped galloping, which we must assume to be a horse, in spite of his tail, which curls upwards like an angry bull's. Before the head of this quadruped a figure runs

brandishing a falchion. Another tombstone (p. 86) has a similar design, and on a third below the figure in the chariot is an animal which Dr. Schliemann describes (p. 81) as a "tolerably well-preserved dog," but which is more probably a lion chasing some quadruped, which, were it not for the inordinate length of his tail, we might call a deer (p. 52). These reliefs are hardly superior to the rudest specimens of sculpture over the doors of some of our Norman churches. Even Dr. Schliemann's enthusiasm fails him here, and he admits (p. 85) that "the men and animals are made as rudely and in as puerile a manner as if they were the primitive artist's first essay to represent living beings." The same incapacity for representing the forms of organic life appears in the smaller works where human figures are introduced.

When we turn from the representations of the human figure to that of animals in these Mycenæan antiquities, we see that superiority in the treatment of the lower forms of organic life which is characteristic of very early art in many barbarous races. As a rule, quadrupeds are more correctly represented than men, birds than quadrupeds, fishes and insects than birds. This is certainly the case at Mycenæ. Of animals, the lion seems to have been the most studied and the best understood. It is true that the gold mask of a lion, represented on p. 211, fails as much to express the true characteristics of the animal, and errs as much in proportion as the human masks already noticed; but the action of the lion springing on his prey in the embossed plate, No. 470, is expressed with a spirit to which the cut in the work before us by no means does justice. The lion (p. 178, No. 263) in *repoussé* work, which was

probably designed as an ornament to be worn on a garment, is also not without character, though rudely beat out and treated as mere decoration; but in the couching lion (p. 361, No. 532) we have an animal that reminds us at once of the granite lions of Egypt and the bronze lion weights found by Mr. Layard at Nimrud. The style has something of the repose which is the characteristic of Egyptian lions, but in the modelling we trace the influence of an Asiatic school. Next in merit to this lion must rank the silver ox's[163] head with the two long gold horns and a gold star on the forehead. The surface of the silver is so much corroded as to detract very much from the effect of this head, but the proportions are well preserved, and, judging from the muzzle, which, having been plated with gold, has not equally decayed, the modelling must have been very fair. A stag (p. 257, No. 376) made of a base metal, of which the analysis yielded two-thirds silver and one-third lead, is chiefly interesting as a primitive attempt to represent a quadruped standing on his legs without any other support. The result is somewhat ungainly. The body of the stag is hollow, and on his back is a spout, showing that the form of this animal has been adapted for a vase.

When we pass from the representation of quadrupeds to the lower forms of life, we find fish, probably intended for the dolphin and the *sepia* or *octopus*, which occur frequently both on the embossed disks (p. 166, No. 240) and also (p. 268, No. 424) as reliefs without a background, so that the outline of the cuttle-fish is left free. This is the mode in which the *emblemata* are made which we find in later Greek art attached as ornaments to mirror

covers and vases. No less than fifty-three of the cuttle-fish represented (No. 424) were collected out of one tomb. Dr. Schliemann states that their perfect similarity can only be explained by supposing that they were all cast in the same mould. They may, however, have been all hammered out on the same model, and afterwards united in pairs, so as to present the same relief on both sides, as Dr. Schliemann suggests in reference to a similar class of ornaments (p. 183). The spirals in which the arms of the octopus terminate would of course give facilities for fastening them as ornaments on garments. Moths are another favourite subject with the Mycenæan goldsmiths. We find them on the disks and also separately cut out like the cuttle-fish. It is curious, on comparing these, to see how carefully some of them appeared to have been studied from nature, and how the same type reappears in a more conventional form.

The patterns borrowed from the vegetable world are not so varied. Among the embossed disks, of which so large a number was found in the tomb of the women, were fan-shaped leaves cut out of gold plates in outline, with the inner markings of the leaves raised in relief, so that they seem like botanical diagrams. In another place are two pomegranates (p. 176, Nos. 257, 258) which have evidently formed the pendants of necklaces. In a large proportion of the ornaments, whether disks or crowns, the basis of the pattern is a circular flower, of which the leaves are sometimes pointed, and sometimes rounded at the ends. Sometimes again these leaves, radiating from a common centre, have their points bent in the same oblique direction, as if they were obeying

the force of a whirling movement. The effect of the large detached flowers is exceedingly rich, though produced by a process so simple that a modern goldsmith might despise it. The separate leaves of the flower are first cut out of thin gold plate; each leaf is ornamented with bosses, spirals, beadings, and other ornaments, all beat out of the plate in relief; these leaves are then united by a central stud or plate, which forms the eye of the flower. Each leaf being covered with raised patterns, a great variety of light-reflecting points is obtained from a very small surface of gold, and the whole effect is very striking.

Where floral forms are not adopted, round bosses and other circular patterns and combinations of spirals are the basis of most of the patterns, and these combinations of spirals seem to have been first suggested by the facility with which gold wire can be worked into such a pattern, as is shown by the spiral bracelets and clasps (p. 196). In the ornaments which the Mycenæan goldsmiths produced in gold we are always reminded of its malleability and ductility; and if they had been as skilful as later goldsmiths in the processes of casting, chasing, and soldering, to which this metal lends itself so easily, their ornaments would have had a different character, less broad and simple, but capable of greater refinement of execution and variety of composition. Two fragments of Mycenæan goldsmith's work, of singular beauty and unique of their kind, must not be passed over here (Nos. 451, 452, p. 287). The original objects to which these two fragments belonged may have been a *caduceus*, as one of the pieces represents a coiled snake, the other, part of a hollow cylinder which had enclosed a

wooden staff. The cylinder is formed of four-leaved flowers, united at the points of their leaves, of which the edges all round are raised so as to form casemates or *cloisons*, in which pieces of rock-crystal are inlaid. The spaces between each pair of flowers are filled with pieces of crystal, all nicely adjusted to their places. In like manner the scales of the serpent are of crystal inlaid in gold *cloisonné* work. Of these crystal inlays one only had fallen out, though the surface had been exposed to the action of fire. The gold vessels found in the Mycenæan tombs are chiefly drinking-cups of several kinds. The prevailing type is a one-handled cup tapering more or less from the mouth to the base, so that the form may be likened to a truncated cone inverted. In another type, the cup, in form something like a modern goblet, springs from a stem more or less taper, which again spreads out at the base into a circular foot. In cups of this type the foot, stem, and bottom of the cup are hammered out of one plate of gold, into which the body of the cup is then fitted like an egg into an egg-cup, and riveted by gold nails. Two of these cups are loaded with some other metal at the junction of the stem with the body. The handles are rudely formed of strips of gold bent to the required shape, and riveted by gold nails. The forms of these gold cups are somewhat clumsy, and the inelegance of their design is evidently due to want of skill in metallurgy. The great goblet (p. 234, No. 344) must, before it was crushed in, have been the finest of all the cups in design, as well as being intrinsically the most valuable, its weight being, as has already been stated, four pounds troy.

We have already noticed the richly embossed gold

plates which once decorated the wooden scabbards and the hilts and pommels of the swords. The blades of these swords are of bronze, and many of them are remarkable for their great length, which Dr. Schliemann calculates as more than three feet. These swords are double-edged, with a high projecting ridge or thread down the centre of the blade. It may be inferred, therefore, that they were used like rapiers for thrusting or guarding. Other shorter swords seem to have been used like a falchion only for delivering a chopping blow, as they have only one edge. All these swords are beautifully made.

We have endeavoured to direct attention to the more striking characteristics of style and fabric in the Mycenæan antiquities. The exceeding strangeness of their aspect led to some mystification on their first exhibition. The extreme antiquity claimed for these objects by Dr. Schliemann was strongly contested. It was said that many of them were as late as the Byzantine period; the ornaments were said to be not Hellenic, but rather Celtic in character. It was even insinuated that they had been brought from other localities, and dexterously inserted in the soil of Mycenæ by their discoverer; that he had, to use an American expression, "salted" his tombs. These doubts and insinuations would be hardly worth noticing here were it not that more than one distinguished archæologist helped to give them currency, misled, as they have since frankly acknowledged, by first impressions.

That these antiquities appear on their first aspect more barbarous than Hellenic may be admitted, but the patient student will not fail to detect many links by

which they may be connected with archaic Greek art as we have hitherto known it from extant specimens. In order to discover these latent affinities we must inquire what evidence of the earliest stage of Greek art has been obtained from the islands in the southern part of the Archipelago, and especially from Rhodes, Melos, Krete, Santorin, and Cyprus, islands which lay in the track of the most ancient Phœnician navigation, and were colonised by the Greeks at a very early period. From these islands have been collected certain gems which have only lately received from archæologists the attention they deserved, and a few samples of which have been published by M. F. Lenormant in the "Revue Archéologique," xxviii. p. 1, Pl. 12, and also by Ludwig Ross, in his "Reisen," iii. p. 21. These gems are pebbles of crystal, sard, onyx, red and green jasper, steatite, and other stones which have been for the most part roughly wrought into the form of a lens; some few are rhomboid. Both kinds are pierced, evidently to be strung on a necklace, or mounted on a swivel ring. On these stones are engraved, in the rudest manner, animals, monstrous combinations of human and animal forms, such as Sphinxes, Chimæras, etc., and lastly human figures, one of which probably represents Herakles fighting with the lion, another perhaps Prometheus with the vulture.

These intaglios are cut with a rudeness which shows no trace of the influence either of the Egyptian scarab or the Assyrian engraved cylinder, both of which appear to have been imitated by the Phœnician and early Greek gem engravers. The rude gems from the Greek islands seem to carry us back to some remote time

before Hellenic art had any style of its own; before it was sensibly, if at all, affected by foreign influences, whether Asiatic or Egyptian, and the majority of the subjects represented on these primitive gems are such as would be taken direct from nature by a semi-barbarous people. In these designs, as in the similes of Homer, the lion, either alone or devouring cattle or deer, is a favourite subject; we find, too, the wild goat with very large horns, which still inhabits Krete, and was once general in the mountains of the Archipelago. We would refer our readers to the interesting series of these *intagli* in the Gem Room of the British Museum, and invite them to compare their rude designs with those of the rings in gold in Dr. Schliemann's work; the resemblances will be found most striking, not only in the subjects and general design and execution, but also in certain minute details. Thus, on a Museum gem is a female figure of which the dress and general type at once remind us of the strange ladies on the Mycenæan gold ring, No. 530; on another Museum gem are two warriors fighting, one of whom is armed with a very long oblong shield, with straight parallel sides, but curved at the top—just such a shield as is worn by one of the warriors on the Mycenæan signet ring, No. 335. We find, too, on one of the Museum gems, the same irregular wavy lines to represent water which occur below the sun and moon in the Mycenæan ring, No. 530. But the connection between these gems and the Mycenæan *intagli* in gold does not end here. In the tomb (No. 3) which contained the bodies of three females were found two of the very gems which we have been describing (Nos. 313 and 315, p. 202). It should

be here noted that six gems of this class were found with other very ancient objects in the upper soil above the tombs, at a depth ranging from 10 to 13 ft. (p. 112), and three more were obtained by Dr. Schliemann from the neighbourhood of the ancient site where once stood the Argive Heraion.

Ruder and perhaps even more ancient than these gems are the little marble idols representing a naked female figure, which are occasionally found in the Greek islands. These figures, which range from 10 to 15 in. in height, remind us at once of the rude carvings of savage races, such as may be seen in ethnographical collections. The lower limbs are indicated by a variation in the outline, and by a deep line of demarcation cut in the marble to show that they are separable one from the other. The arms, marked off in like manner by a deep channel, are folded on the breast; the face is featureless, save a projection which serves to represent a nose, and behind this face is no cranium, only a slight thickness of marble. The one peculiarity which distinguishes these figures from the idols of more recent savage races is that the pelvis is marked very distinctly by three incised lines which form an equilateral triangle.[164]

Among the Mycenæan antiquities are two little gold ornaments representing a naked female figure, which, from the doves associated with it, is probably a very early type of Aphrodite. This figure, though a little less rude than the marble idols, has the arms folded on the bosom in the same manner, and the pelvis is in like manner marked off as a triangle, though in the work before us (p. 180, Nos. 267, 268) the engraver,

trusting to photographs without seeing the originals, has failed to detect this peculiarity.

We have now to call attention to certain equally rude representations of the human figure in terra-cotta, specimens of one variety of which are given in Plates A and B and Plate xvii. Nos. 94–96. These terra-cottas, which do not exceed five inches in height, are rudely fashioned in the form of a draped female figure, only to be recognised as such by the two slight protuberances which indicate breasts. From the waist downwards the draped body is represented as a round column which spreads outwards at the base. There are no indications of feet. The arms project on each side of the shoulder like the arms of a crescent, and are enveloped in a kind of tippet, which falls as low as the waist, and is distinguished from the lower dress by stripes of colour. The face is as featureless as the little marble figures already described. This is the type which Dr. Schliemann believes to be an idol representing the cow-headed Hera, whose horns he recognises in the arms projecting on each side. That these figures are idols is very possible, that the position of the arms may have some Hieratic significance, and that it may possibly typify the crescent moon, may be conceded to Dr. Schliemann; but, after a study of this type as it may be traced through the series of ancient terra-cottas from Ialysos and Kamiros in the British Museum, we fail to recognise any horns at all, and consequently the ingenious identification of this figure with the Homeric Hera falls to the ground.

In another variety of this type (pl. C. fig. 1), the arms are folded as in the little marble idols, already noticed. The great antiquity of both these types might

be inferred from their extreme rudeness, and the discovery of a single specimen by Dr. Schliemann in one of the five tombs shows that they were in existence as early as the date of those tombs, whatever that may be. As many as 700 of such terra-cottas were found in digging through the stratum of ancient soil above the tombs, and similar figures were found in digging through the passage to the Treasury, explored by Madame Schliemann. But such archaic types in terra-cotta are not limited to Mycenæ and Tiryns. They have been found in tombs at Athens, and also at Ialysos in Rhodes, and evidently belong to the same primitive class as the rude figures of horsemen found in the tombs of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Athens, of which one mutilated specimen occurred in the diggings of Mycenæ.[165]

In digging the strata of soil above the tombs, Dr. Schliemann found not only potsherds, such as earlier travellers had remarked on the surface, but whole vases, and in the tombs themselves were broken vases. One of the most frequently recurring types is that figured on p. 64 (No. 25), which may thus be described: The body is nearly globular, its neck serves as the support of the two handles which spring from either shoulder of the vase. The neck is closed at the top, the mouth of the vase is a spout on the shoulder. This type is so peculiar that its recurrence in various localities could not have been due to any chance coincidence. We find it in Egypt, in Cyprus, and forty-three examples of it were obtained from Ialysos in Rhodes. Another form which Mycenæ has in common with Ialysos is the goblet type (p. 70, No. 83), in which a shallow cup with one handle rises from a tall stem. In the ornaments painted on the

Ialysian vases we are still more reminded of Mycenæan art. The cuttle-fish, so favourite a symbol with the goldsmiths of Mycenæ, recurs on several of the fictile cups from Ialysos. We have too the same friezes of dolphins or lions encircling the body of the vases in both cases; the combination of spirals such as are found on the gold breastplates constantly recurs; and when we compare the fragments of pottery from Mycenæ with the vases from Ialysos, the identity not only in the peculiar ornaments, but in the fabric, is so complete, that we are justified in concluding that the vases of both places, if not the actual products of the same school of fictile art, were made about the same period, and derived their ornaments from some common source.[166]

The Mycenæan ornament seems derived not so much from traditional forms as from Nature herself, and flowers seem to have suggested many of the patterns, while shells and other marine products may have suggested others. This preference for floral ornament is equally marked in certain pottery from Santorin, on which leaves and tendrils are painted in a free, bold style. From the circumstance that this Santorin pottery was found with other remains under a stratum of lava, a very high antiquity has been claimed for it by M. Lenormant.[167] As his argument is dependent on certain geological assumptions which have not yet been confirmed by independent inquiry *in situ*, we shall only here remark that the pottery of Santorin presents strong resemblances to the pottery of the Mycenæan tombs and of Ialysos, and that the fictile art of all three places is distinguished by certain peculiar characteristics.

Not only is the pottery of Ialysos almost identical

with that of the Mycenæan tombs, but in both we find certain ornaments in a vitreous composition which present a most singular coincidence both in material and pattern. There seems to be good ground for believing that these vitreous ornaments were originally covered with gold-leaf like some of the terra-cotta ornaments, which in later Greek art supplied necklaces for the dead. In one of the tombs at Mycenæ were several specimens of glass in a more advanced stage of the art. These are described by Dr. Schliemann as small cylinders pierced through their length, and square pieces composed of four such cylinders. Externally these cylinders were cased with grayish-white matter which crumbled under the touch. Within that again was a hard blue transparent tube, which, according to Professor Landerer, is of cobalt glass, and within this again another tube, with a lustre like silver, and which is pronounced by the same authority to be a vitreous substance containing lead. It would seem from this evidence that at the period when these tombs were furnished the art of casing cylinders with concentric tubes of glass, one over the other, was already known. No other specimens of glass were found by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ except a few beads in the soil above the tombs. One more point may be noted which connects the remains at Ialysos with those at Mycenæ—a peculiarity in the form of the gold rings. In the rings from both sites, the back of the chaton is hollowed to fit the round of the finger, and the form and fabric of these rings are peculiar and unlike any other Greek rings with which we are acquainted. Simultaneously with Dr. Schliemann's discoveries, tombs were found at Spata in Attika containing objects closely

resembling the antiquities from Mycenæ, but apparently of rather a later date.[168] These Attic antiquities are now being carefully compared with the remains found in tombs at Mycenæ, Ialysos, and Santorin, but the inquiry, to be complete, should be carried much farther. If certain ancient remains from Melos, Attika, Megara, the Rhodian Ialysos and Kamiros, and Cyprus, were combined with the contents of the Mycenæan tombs, and arranged as far as possible in their presumed chronological sequence, a phenomenon which has for some years been recognised by archæologists would be more generally known and more easy of demonstration. This phenomenon is that the slow and painful advance of Greek art, from its first rude efforts, is interrupted at a certain stage by a foreign influence. When we examine that most interesting and varied collection of archaic objects found by Messrs. Biliotti and Salzmann in tombs at Kamiros, and now exhibited in the British Museum, we find but very few, if any, traces of the peculiar pottery of which the neighbouring city Ialysos has furnished so many specimens; on the fictile vases of Kamiros we find zones of lions and other animals, drawn with great spirit and combined with ornaments which, since the discoveries at Nimrud, we know to have been derived from an Assyrian source. Again, while we find numbers of terra-cotta figures of which the earliest are as rude as those of Mycenæ and Ialysos, and of which the series exhibits so many successive stages of progress towards a truer representation of the human figure, we have other terra-cotta figures which, though still retaining certain archaic characteristics, seem the product of a more mature school of art; and these later figures, when

compared with certain terra-cottas from tombs at Sidon and other places in Phœnicia, are found to be identical in type, and to present only slight differences in style.[169]

When we turn to the gold ornaments of which Kamiros has yielded a rich collection, we see in the earlier specimens figures embossed on plates of gold, which, in their rudeness both of design and execution, remind us of the work of the Mycenæan goldsmiths; but there are other specimens in which the art has made a decided advance, both in modelling and in technical skill; and in this later style we meet with earrings ornamented with winged lions very similar to those so familiar to us in Assyrian sculpture. The ornaments, too, both in gold and ivory, at Kamiros are constantly reminding us of Assyrian prototypes. On the other hand, we find many objects which seem to connect these remains with Egypt, such as a silver bowl and a gold ring, scarabs, vases, and many other objects in Egyptian porcelain, some with hieroglyphics; and these hieroglyphics are, in some cases, so incorrectly rendered and so blundered as to prove that the artist by whom they were copied had no real knowledge of Egyptian writing.[170] If we pass from Rhodes to Cyprus, we find that there, too, the early art presents the same curious mixture of Assyrian and Egyptian types and subjects. In General Cesnola's most interesting work, several bowls in gold, silver, and bronze are engraved, and two more, found many years ago in Cyprus, are to be seen, one in the Museum at the Louvre, the other in the Bibliothèque Nationale.[171] Inside these bowls are designs, either engraved or embossed, representing battle scenes, in some of which a king takes a part,—hunting scenes, animals;

the predominating style is rather Egyptian than Assyrian, but there is a strange mixture of symbols and ornaments from both sources. If we pass from the Greek islands to Italy, we find that silver bowls very similar to those of Cyprus in style and subject were found in the celebrated Regulini Galassi tomb at Cervetri, and also in more than one ancient site on the west coast of Italy; and if we go eastward we meet with the same curious mixture of Assyrian and Egyptian influences in the bronze bowls and inlaid ivories discovered by Mr. Layard at Nimrud.[172] Here, of course, the question presents itself, How can we account for these resemblances in style and subject in the metallic art of countries so wide apart as Nimrud and Cervetri, and in an age when commercial intercourse and navigation were as yet restricted within narrow limits? The answer to this question which has been generally accepted by archæologists of late years is that it was the Phœnicians who, in the course of their commerce, brought this particular class of art to the markets of Greece and Italy, and that these engraved and embossed bowls, and probably most of the early jewellery such as we find at Kamiros and Cervetri, were made by the artificers of Tyre, Sidon, and other Phœnician settlements. The correctness of this opinion has been strikingly confirmed by the recent discovery of a treasure at Palestrina, in which a bowl with pseudo-Egyptian hieroglyphics, and with an inscription in true Semitic characters, was associated with gold ornaments, which correspond in certain technical details with the jewellery of Kamiros.

The examples which we here adduce are only a few links in a long chain of evidence, most of which will be

found in a recent dissertation by Professor Helbig on the Palestrina treasure.[173] The number of instances in which Phœnician and Greek remains have been found intermixed on the same site points to a period when the rude untaught instincts of the Hellenic artist were stimulated and developed by the importation of foreign works, the product of a more advanced civilisation, and it will be convenient for the present to designate this period as the Græco-Phœnician. But what were its limits? We can hardly conceive it to extend downwards later than B.C. 560, when the Assyrian Empire and its art had been swept away by the fall of Nineveh; when Greek art had nearly freed itself from foreign influences, and was developing a free independent growth; when we begin to hear of celebrated Hellenic artists, some sculptors in marble, some excelling in the art of casting, embossing, and chasing works in metal; when the Doric and Ionic styles of architecture had reached a certain maturity, and sumptuous temples in marble were being built.

With regard to the limits of the Græco-Phœnician period upwards, all that we can positively assert is that, in the time of Homer—whenever that was—the Greeks received from Sidon, Tyre, and Cyprus certain works of art which they greatly prized, and which they thought worthy to be laid up in the treasuries of kings. Such were the silver *krater* given by Achilles as an agonistic prize at the funeral of Patroklos, which, as the poet tells us, was made by the Sidonians, and brought over the sea by the Phœnicians, and the cuirass of Agamemnon, inlaid with many metals, presented to him by Kinyres, the king of the Cyprian Paphos.

Homer too describes, in an often cited passage, the

traffic between Phœnician traders and the Greeks on the coast, when the crafty Orientals contrived to kidnap Greek women, luring them to the shore by the display of necklaces and other toys—*athyrmata*. Among such *athyrmata* may be reckoned the shells engraved with Assyrian subjects which have been found whole or in portions at Vulci in Etruria, at Kamiros, at Nimrud, and at Bethlehem.[174] The shells so engraved are known to naturalists as the *tridachna squamosa*, and are found in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, but not in the Mediterranean. It is to be presumed that, like other products from the more distant East, they were brought by Phœnician ships up the Red Sea, and thence to Greek or Etruscan marts. The ostrich eggs, covered with subjects carved in relief in an Asiatic style, which were found with other Græco-Phœnician remains in the Polledrara grotto near Vulci, are another example of *athyrmata* brought from a far country in the course of trade.[175]

How early this Phœnician traffic in the eastern Mediterranean began, and whether on the coast of Italy Carthage had any share in it, are questions which we have as yet no certain means of determining. That Tyrians were already eminent in metallurgy and other arts as early as the time of Solomon, B.C. 1000, we know from the Books of Kings and Chronicles, in which the varied talents of Hiram, the artist sent to decorate the temple at Jerusalem, are described in terms which would be applicable to the Samian Theodoros, that versatile genius to whom is ascribed so prominent a part in the development of Greek art some four centuries later.[176]

When we compare the descriptions of works of art

in Homer with those extant specimens which we have assigned to the Græco-Phœnician period, the correspondence is very striking. It is true that in the shield of Achilles the poet's imagination has evidently contributed some of the marvels of that famous composition; and, considering that this masterpiece was the work of the god Hephaistos, we could expect no less. But, allowing for a certain amount of poetic licence in the description, we find both in the design of the shield and in the technical method of its execution much that reminds us of the Phœnician bowls, of the great shield found in the Regulini Galassi tomb at Cervetri, and of several other specimens of archaic metallurgy of the same period.[177] The like observation applies to the description of the shield of Herakles in Hesiod. Now when we compare the Mycenæan antiquities with the description of works of art and handicraft in the poems of Homer and Hesiod, we find that in all that may be considered products of the mere craftsman, such as swords, scabbards, sword-belts, or the domestic utensils, such as cups or cauldrons, the descriptions in Homer tally sufficiently with the objects found by Dr. Schliemann to make it probable that, at the time when the Homeric poems were composed, the fashion of such products of handicraft had not greatly changed. On the other hand the tombs of Mycenæ have produced no work of art at all comparable in design and execution to the battles and hunting scenes which the Phœnician artists beat out in relief or engraved on bowls and other metallic surfaces. Still less do we find at Mycenæ any composition which at all reminds us of Homer's shield. It is obvious that artists so ignorant of the human figure as the Mycenæan

goldsmiths would have been incapable of producing compositions with a sustained dramatic interest, such as the description of the Homeric shield implies, and of which the designs of the Phœnician bowls already referred to seem to contain the germ.

We therefore do not hesitate to state our opinion that, viewed in relation to the descriptions in Homer, the art of Mycenæ seems of a præ-Homeric period; viewed again in relation to the best extant works of the Græco-Phœnician period, this Mycenæan art is certainly very much ruder and earlier in style, whatever may be its date. We cannot but believe that the masterpieces of those Sidonian artists whom Homer calls πολυδαίδαλοι must have been very superior to what seems to us for the most part the uncouth product of a race destined ultimately to assimilate and to improve the arts and inventions of the Phœnicians and older races, but who had not yet entered into this rich inheritance. In the dim twilight of the mythic past the names of Kadmos and Dædalos stand out conspicuously. The first of these names marks the period when the Greeks adopted alphabetic writing from the Phœnicians; the name of Dædalos, on the other hand, expresses the change from the rude, shapeless idol to a truer and more lively representation of the human form—a change wrought, as we conceive, by the quickening influence of foreign schools of art acting on the Greeks through the medium of the Phœnicians. Thus, as we may call the period before the use of writing among the Greeks the præ-Kadmean period, so the period before this quickening influence transformed their rude efforts into a distinct style of art may be called the præ-Dædalian period. In our judg-

ment, the antiquities of Mycenæ belong to this præ-Dædalian period, with the exception of some three or four objects, which appear to us to have been imported from some country in a more advanced stage of civilisation. That country may have been Egypt, but the carriers were probably Phœnicians.

It will be seen from the foregoing remarks that, in calling the antiquities from Mycenæ præ-Dædalian and præ-Homeric, we incline to the belief that they are of a very high antiquity. Dædalos is so entirely a legendary personage, that we can only offer vague guesses as to the period which his name represents; but the age of the Homeric poems, however much contested by ancient and modern chronologers, can hardly be later than the age assigned to them by Herodotos—namely, about four centuries before his own time, or B.C. 850. If, then, the Mycenæan antiquities are præ-Homeric, they must be regarded as earlier than the middle of the ninth century before our era. We have already set forth the general grounds for such an opinion, as deduced from a comparison of the Mycenæan treasure with other extant examples of archaic art. In further support of such a view, it may be here noted that, on a well-known mural picture in a tomb at Thebes, tributaries of the Egyptian King Thothmes III., believed to be Cyprians or Phœnicians, are bringing vases and other offerings, one of which is in the form of an ox's head, very closely resembling the silver ox's head of the Mycenæan treasure, while other figures bear cups, which have a strong family likeness to those found by Dr. Schliemann.[178] According to Egyptologists, the date of Thothmes III. falls somewhere between B.C. 1400 and 1500 at the latest.

We have already pointed out that the close resemblance between the antiquities of Ialysos and those of Mycenæ makes it probable that we ought not to separate the one series from the other by any long interval of time; and here we must call attention to the fact that in one of the tombs at Ialysos was found another Egyptian relic of remote antiquity—a porcelain scarab with the cartouche of King Amenoph III., whose date, according to the authorities on Egyptian chronology, is not later than B.C. 1400. Of course, neither this discovery nor the resemblance of the Mycenæan cups and ox's head to similar objects depicted in the tomb at Thebes are conclusive as to the date of the respective tombs in which they were found; for a sepulchral deposit cannot, of course, be earlier than the most modern objects it contains, and the Mycenæan cups and Ialysian scarab may be somewhat older than the other objects found with them; but we hardly think it likely that this possible greater antiquity would exceed three centuries. We should thus arrive at the eleventh century B.C. as an approximate date for the antiquities of Mycenæ and Ialysos.

We have now endeavoured to answer the question, What can be inferred as to the age and origin of the antiquities found on the Akropolis at Mycenæ by the study of the antiquities themselves? From a comparison with extant remains found on other ancient sites, we are led to infer that the contents of the Mycenæan tombs belong to the most remote period to which we can venture to ascribe any Greek antiquities as yet known to us, and the reasoning which has conducted us to this conclusion would, we conceive, seem

equally valid to any one trained in archæological research, whether these antiquities had been found by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ or on any other Greek site not so marked out by tradition and extant monuments, as the seat of a great monarchy in præ-Homeric times. On the other hand, it is not possible in the discussion on the discoveries at Mycenæ to divest the mind of the associations which the very name of this site calls forth, and thus we are brought back to the question to which we have already briefly adverted in the earlier part of this article. Have those singular monuments, the so-called Treasuries, and the Lion gateway, that direct connection with the dynasty of the Atreidæ which local tradition in the time of Pausanias ascribed to them? Are they, as most archæologists believe, almost the sole surviving specimens of the architecture of the heroic age, an architecture which has passed away like the fauna of that remote period to which geologists assign the Mastodon and Megatherium; or are they, as ultra-sceptics have maintained, simply masses of ancient masonry of uncertified date and origin? Henceforth, it is obvious, the discussion of this question cannot be separated from that of another question, What is the age of the antiquities discovered by Dr. Schliemann in the Akropolis at Mycenæ? Was this immense treasure deposited at a time when Mycenæ still merited the epithet "much-golden," which Homer bestows on it? Were the bodies with which it was found those of royal personages of the line of Pelops, or of some unknown *fortes ante Agamemnona* or *post Agamemnona?*

At this stage of the inquiry we would state certain propositions which, we think, may be fairly as-

sumed as postulates in all future discussions of the problem:

1. There was a powerful Achæan dynasty at Mycenæ which in mythic tradition is represented by the three successive names, Atreus, Thyestes, Agamemnon, and which at some time was dominant in Argolis, and perhaps over much more of the Peloponnese.

2. This Achæan dynasty lost its ascendancy after the revolution commonly called the Return of the Herakleidæ, when the Dorians established themselves as the ruling race in Argos and other parts of the Peloponnese, and of which revolution the date is B.C. 1104, according to one ancient authority, or B.C. 1048 according to another.

3. The buildings which Pausanias calls Treasuries, and the Lions' Gate at Mycenæ were erected during the period of Achæan supremacy in Argolis.

4. From the amount of treasure which the tombs discovered by Dr. Schliemann contained, it may be fairly inferred that these were royal tombs.

5. As we have no record, legendary or historical, of any kings reigning at Mycenæ after the termination of the Achæan dynasty, it is to be presumed that the tombs in the Akropolis are not later than that dynasty.

But admitting these premisses, have we any reasonable ground for supposing that the tombs found by Dr. Schliemann are those which Pausanias believed to contain the remains of Agamemnon and his companions? It may be well here to cite the exact words of that author (ii. 16, § 5): "In the ruins of Mycenæ are the fountain called Perseia, and the subterranean buildings of Atreus and his children, in which they stored their

treasure. The tomb of Atreus is there, and also the tomb of Agamemnon and such of his companions as Ægisthos slew at a banquet on their return from Troy. The identity, indeed, of the tomb of Kassandra is called in question by the Lakonians of Amyklæ, but one of the tombs is that of Agamemnon, another of his charioteer Eurymedon. Teledamos and Pelops, who are said to have been twin children of Kassandra, and to have been slain while yet infants with their parents by Ægisthos, are both in the same tomb, and there is the tomb of Elektra, for Orestes gave her in marriage to Pylades, and, according to Hellanikos, Medon and Strophios were the issue of this union. *But Klytemnestra and Ægisthos were buried at a little distance from the fortress*, being thought unworthy to be buried within it where Agamemnon and those slain with him were interred." We quite accept in this passage Dr. Schliemann's interpretation of the word τεῖχος, by which he understands the fortress on the Akropolis, not, as former authorities have maintained, the wall round the lower city; and it must be acknowledged that the text of Pausanias, thus interpreted, presents a most curious coincidence with the recent discoveries. His statement would lead us to expect that royal tombs might be found within the Akropolis; search has been made, and tombs containing a treasure worthy of the ruler of Mycenæ "the Golden" have been found. The coincidence seems almost too perfect to be true. What its real value is as evidence in the question before us will, it is easy to predict, be hotly contested. It will be urged that the passage which we have cited from Pausanias was written more than twelve centuries after the reputed date of the death of Aga-

memnon; that his statement about the tombs rests apparently on no other authority than the local tradition current in Argolis when he visited Mycenæ, and that on the same loose authority of local tradition elsewhere in Greece, he points out in the course of his work the tombs of many other personages of the heroic age, some of whom are manifestly mere mythical figments. Nor can we blame Pausanias for recording these local traditions, which could only have been tested by an operation as repugnant to the feelings of that pious traveller as it would have been to those of his contemporaries who claimed for their cities the distinction of possessing the tombs of ancestral heroes, sacred in their eyes as the shrines of saints still are in Christendom. Though in the second century of the Christian era tomb burglary was not unknown, no archæologist would have been permitted by the Greeks to violate the tombs of their ancestors for the sake of satisfying historic doubts, which they themselves did not entertain, and which they would have indignantly repudiated.

Again, it may be said that the legends about the death of Agamemnon, like some of the incidents of his life, are contradictory. According to Pindar, it was at Amyklæ in Lakonia, and not at Mycenæ, that he was slain, and Pausanias himself admits that the Amyklæans, Mycenæan tradition notwithstanding, maintained that Kassandra was buried in their city, and showed what they considered to be the tomb of Agamemnon.[179] It will be said too that to talk of Agamemnon as an historical personage is merely begging the question, but that, even if we admit the possibility that a king of that name did return from Troy and was treacherously slain

in the manner related by Homer and the tragedians, how can we be sure that the tombs discovered by Dr. Schliemann are those meant by Pausanias? It is obvious that nothing short of a thorough exploration of the Akropolis can give a satisfactory answer to this question, and, while this article is still in the press, comes news from Athens announcing that Mr. Stamataki, who has been appointed by the Greek Government to continue the excavations at Mycenæ, has already found there another tomb containing gold.[180]

We should not here omit to mention that, in the course of Dr. Schliemann's operations at Mycenæ, one of the five subterraneous chambers, called Treasuries by Pausanias, was excavated by Madame Schliemann, who, here, as at Hissarlik, proved herself the intelligent and devoted partner in her husband's toils. In the course of further exploration something more may yet be found to throw light on the question, What was the purpose of these vast subterranean chambers? Pausanias calls these buildings and the similar one at Orchomenos, Treasuries; in both cases probably accepting the local tradition current in his time with his usual unquestioning faith. But we venture to assert that, if Pausanias had not given this name to these chambers, it would never have occurred to archæologists to call them Treasuries. It seems inconceivable that Atreus and his successors would have placed their treasure in the city below, when they could have stored it in such an impregnable stronghold as the Akropolis; why, too, should they build five separate Treasuries, and scatter them about the city, when, if placed close together in a row, they could have been much more easily guarded? Moreover,

the peculiar Egyptian vaulting of these buildings, the long passage leading up to them, and the smaller inner chamber in the largest of them, all remind us of a class of tomb which was probably much more common in Greece in the kingly period than in the later republican times, and of which we find the type surviving in the Græco-Scythic royal tomb, called the Koul Oba, near Kertch, and in certain parts of Asia Minor.[181] We agree then with Mure and E. Curtius in considering the Treasuries at Mycenæ tombs of the Achæan dynasty which reigned there. Such a supposition seems at first sight at variance with the theory that the tombs in the Akropolis are also royal sepulchres ; but we may reconcile the two views if we assume that such vast masses of masonry as the so-called Treasury of Atreus were built when the dynasty had that wide extended sway "over all Argos and many islands," which would have enabled them to command the amount of labour required for such a structure, and when the lower city of Mycenæ was well guarded from any invasion. There may have been an after-period when the mighty kingdom of the Atreidæ had shrunk to much narrower limits, and when the "labour of an age in piled stones" was no longer attainable to perpetuate the memory of the dead, and to protect their remains. In this later period the Akropolis would undoubtedly be the safest place for tombs containing so much treasure. Dr. Schliemann suggests that the circular enclosure round the tombs on the Akropolis may mark the limits of the *Agora*. This may be so, though we should rather have expected to find the *Agora* in the lower city. Ancient tombs are constantly surrounded with a *peri-*

bolos, and though such an *enceinte* is generally a parallelogram, the circular form may have been adopted at Mycenæ, because the part of the Akropolis where the tombs are may have been already crowded with the buildings of which the foundations are shown on Dr. Schliemann's plan. Possibly we may have in this circular enclosure the primitive form of the *prytaneion*, which in later Greek times was usually a round building with the altar of Hestia in the centre.[182] In the foundations to the south of the circular enclosure a number of very archaic objects were found, which we have no space to notice here. Dr. Schliemann thinks that these foundations indicate the site of a royal palace. The position of such a palace close to the wall and principal gate of the Akropolis reminds us of the palace at Khorsabad, planted in a gap in the wall of the Assyrian city. If the palace of the Atreidæ was a superstructure of wood built on these foundations, as Dr. Schliemann supposes, the circular enclosure would be the most appropriate place of meeting for the elders, whom we may suppose to have been summoned by the king to his council.

Here we must close our notice of the discoveries at Mycenæ, and before we leave the Akropolis, let us cast one upward glance at those gaunt lions who have kept watch over the massive gateway for thirty or more centuries. When last we saw them lit up by the slanting rays of the western sun, we thought how admirably their proportions were designed for the place they occupy; how well that rough, uncouth treatment of the anatomy harmonises with the rugged masonry round. Headless as they are, they are in our eyes a higher effort of art than all the golden treasures of the

tombs within. Was it a Cyclops imported from Lykia who carved these strange animals for Perseus, or did the Tantalid Pelops bring from his Lydian fatherland some tradition of Asiatic art to the peninsula which still, in this nineteenth century, bears his name? These and many other questions suggested by the discoveries of Dr. Schliemann must be postponed till the excavation of certain ancient sites in Asia Minor has told us more of Lydian, and, perhaps, of Phrygian art. The solution of the problem with which we have been endeavouring to grapple will, perhaps, be found when the tombs of the Lydian kings near Sardis and the tumuli in the Troad have been properly explored.

RESEARCHES IN CYPRUS.*

The publication of this work comes most opportunely at the same time as that of Dr. Schliemann's account of his operations at Mycenæ. The antiquities found on both sites must be studied in connection with each other, and with the rich and varied collection of objects obtained by Messrs. Saltzmann and Biliotti at Kamiros and Ialysos in Rhodes. It is greatly to be regretted that the untimely death of M. Saltzmann cut short the publication of his discoveries which he had commenced; for, if the Rhodian antiquities had been as amply illustrated as those of Mycenæ and Cyprus, it would have been possible to exhibit in a series of examples from these three places, a regular progressive development in Greek art in what we may assume to have been its earliest phases.

But the antiquities of Cyprus have been now very fully illustrated, if we combine with the work now before us what has been published by the Duc de Luynes, L. Ross, Messrs. Ceccaldi, Lang, and R. S. Poole.[183] General Cesnola's operations in Cyprus extend from

* "Cyprus: a Narrative of Researches, etc., by General di Cesnola, 1877." "The Academy," 1877.

1865 to 1876, during all which time he filled the post of American Consul. His official position, and that tact and judgment in dealing with the local authorities which can only be acquired by living in Turkey and speaking the language of the country, carried him through many difficulties which might have baffled a less determined and a less experienced excavator, and he was thus enabled to secure and export the rich harvest of antiquities which rewarded his discoveries.

The ancient sites explored by General Cesnola were Kition (Larnaca)—which according to Greek tradition was the earliest settlement of the Phœnicians in Cyprus; the three celebrated seats of the worship of Aphrodite, Idalion (Dali), Paphos, and Golgoi; and Kourion, which was anciently colonised from Argolis. Besides excavating on these sites, General Cesnola explored the island in every direction, round the coast and through the interior, as is shown by the network of routes marked on his map. The site of Kition abounds in tombs which had been extensively ransacked before General Cesnola's arrival in Cyprus. Here, too, is a mound which has yielded a large number of small terra-cotta figures, mostly having reference to the worship of Demeter and Persephonè; many of these, presented by Mr. Consul Colnaghi, may be seen in the British Museum. General Cesnola discovered here inscriptions and foundations which showed that on this spot must have been a temple dedicated to Demeter Paralia. He also examined upwards of 3000 tombs, without much result, except the discovery of the marble lid of a Phœnician sarcophagus (p. 53), which very closely resembles those from Sidon in the Louvre and the British Museum[184] and

an interesting fictile vase (p. 55) found with alabaster vases, one of which had a Phœnician inscription.

Here, too, he laid bare the foundations of a temple, about which were lying several fragments of white marble bowls with Phœnician inscriptions. The next scene of his operations was Idalion (Dali), once a shady Elysian retreat, where in the middle ages the queens of the Lusignan dynasty had their summer residence. Here General Cesnola, detecting signs of an extensive necropolis, took on lease thirty acres of the most likely ground, and carried on a systematic exploration at different intervals between 1867 to the end of 1876; the entire number of tombs examined in the course of these operations he reckons at not less than 15,000 (p. 64). A large proportion of these tombs were oven-shaped cavities cut in the earth; the sides and roof were lined with clay mixed with triturated straw, which from the exceeding dryness of the climate seems to have been sufficient for sustaining the chamber; the vases and other objects which composed the furniture of the tomb were laid on a platform of sun-dried bricks. The character of the pottery in these tombs leads General Cesnola to conclude that they are Phœnician. In another stratum above them was a stratum of tombs of the Roman period, which contained gold ornaments and some beautiful specimens of iridescent glass. The most interesting object found in the Phœnician tombs at Dali was the bronze bowl (p. 77) on which are represented in relief a number of draped female figures dancing with joined hands; an altar which a female approaches from each side must be regarded as the centre of the composition, as four musicians move

towards it on one side and the dancers on the other; on a table near this altar are two vases closely resembling in shape and pattern the pottery found in Cyprian tombs. The figures are rudely executed, and the bowl seems like a local imitation of Phœnician metal-work, of which much finer specimens have been found elsewhere in Cyprus. This bowl was found, together with a hatchet and spearhead in copper, in a small quadrangular cavity excavated in the floor of the tomb, and covered with a sun-dried brick. It was during General Cesnola's operations at Dali that Mr. Lang discovered there a Phœnician temple containing the bilingual inscription, coins, and other precious remains which are now in the British Museum.

The site of Golgoi seems to have been identified by M. de Vogüé some years ago, when he made a tentative digging on the spot where General Cesnola has since laid bare the ruins of a temple.[185] The walls of this temple had disappeared, all but the lines of the foundation, which extended 50 ft. from east to west, with a width of 30 ft. General Cesnola thinks that the walls of this and other temples in Cyprus were built of sun-dried bricks, with wooden columns and capitals and bases of stone, and he thus explains the almost entire absence of architectural remains here. Within the area of the foundation walls, and all round them, were lying heads and bodies of many statues, which had once stood within the temple on bases still in position in three parallel rows. All of these statues were of calcareous stone. Some were Egyptian in style and costume; others seemed to be imitations of Assyrian sculptures; while some few of a later period seem to

have been executed under the influence, if not by the hand, of Greek sculptors in the mature period of art. Most of the figures do not much exceed life-size, and many were small statuettes. In the original arrangement of the temple the sculptures appear to have been placed in separate groups, corresponding with their respective styles. The Egyptian figures were found by themselves, the Assyrian apart from them, and the Greek and Roman near the west wall. Numbers of votive tablets and offerings were in like manner sorted out according to their nature. General Cesnola does not state in his work the exact number of statues, heads, and other sculptures found in the ruins of this temple; but Doell, in his "Sammlung Cesnola,"[186] gives a catalogue of nearly 800, nearly all which he states to have been found at Golgoi. General Cesnola does not attempt to describe or classify this extraordinary collection, and only engraves some few remarkable statues; but Doell's plates show that they may be arranged in groups, as is the case also with the sculptures found by Mr. Lang at Dali. A certain number of these statues are Egyptian in costume and general style; in a much larger proportion the treatment of the beard and hair reminds us of Assyrian sculptures, though the drapery is more like that of archaic Greek sculpture. Judging from the character of the heads, it seems probable that most of the statues are iconic, and may be the portraits of Cyprian priests and kings, dedicated, like those from the Sacred Way at Branchidæ, to the deity of the temple. But who was this deity? General Cesnola does not enter upon this question, which the absence of inscriptions makes it very difficult to decide. The most important statue found in this

temple is the Herakles (p. 132) clad in the lion's skin, and armed with his club and bow and arrows. On the base is sculptured a composition in very low relief, representing the capture of the cattle of Geryon. In the style of this statue, and of the composition on its base, we find the same characteristics as in the extant remains of archaic Greek art; the same style appears in the curious smaller figure of the triple Geryon (p. 156). From the more elaborate base which distinguishes this statue, and from its colossal scale, it might be inferred that it represented the principal deity in the temple. On the other hand, the numerous votive sculptures which are so clearly connected with maternity—such as women suckling babies, mothers with new-born infants, and cows and other animals similarly engaged with their young (p. 158)—indicate the worship of a female deity, who may be represented by the singular statues engraved in Doell.[187] In these we seem to recognise a Cyprian type of Aphrodite.

Other figures specially to be noted are: The triple Geryon (p. 156), with battle-scenes sculptured in relief on his three bucklers; the archer (p. 155), who may be Teucer, the founder of Salamis; and the draped female figure standing on a base which has been supported by Caryatids: these two latter figures, like the Herakles, remind us much more of archaic Greek sculptures than of any Egyptian or Assyrian prototypes. In this temple, as in Mr. Lang's collection from Dali, we may trace the gradual transition from true Archaic to pseudo-Archaic or Hieratic, and the coming in of a new style which may be called pseudo-Hellenic, and which probably began not long before the time of Alexander the Great.

It may at first sight seem surprising that here and in Mr. Lang's temple at Dali so many statues should have been preserved unmutilated, while so little of the structure of these temples remains. In both cases, probably, as Mr. Lang and General Cesnola suggest, the walls were built of mud mixed with triturated straw, and surmounted by a wooden roof unprotected from the outside. This at some time or other caught fire, probably by lightning, and the result of this conflagration was that the walls fell in, overthrowing the sculptures in their fall. Such a ruin would afford little spoil to the builders of after-times, from the absence of marble. Hence it was that, while a large proportion of Greek sculptures has perished in the kiln, having been converted into lime by mediæval builders, the statues of Cyprus have survived, because of the inferior material in which they were executed.

The collection of sculptures found at Golgoi is so varied that General Cesnola might have filled at least half his volume in describing them. Two objects of special interest may here be noted. The relief (p. 149), in which a procession of worshippers is approaching a seated goddess, while below are figures seated at a banquet. This is probably the representation of the periodical festival of one of the religious communities called *thiasi*. The other object is the stoup for holy water, called by the Greeks *perirrhanterion*, 7 ft. in diameter, which General Cesnola supposes to have been placed outside the temple to the right of the entrance. On it is sculptured in relief a snake, which may have the same import as the two snakes which, as

Horace tells us, marked a sacred spot, though in this instance the snake is combined with a dolphin.

Paphos yielded little in proportion to the expectations which the celebrity of the site warranted, but at Kourion General Cesnola made a discovery to which there is, perhaps, no parallel in the annals of archæology.

The site of Kourion is covered with ruins, which, strange as it may seem, had never been explored before General Cesnola's visit. Noticing eight shafts of granite columns lying together in one spot, he dug here and found a tesselated pavement which is evidently of the Roman period. Finding that one part of this pavement sounded hollow, he dug below it, and came on a gallery cut in the rock, nearly 4 ft. high and 11 ft. long, one end of which had evidently communicated by steps with the building above. At the other end was a doorway carelessly closed by a stone slab. Penetrating through this doorway, the excavator found an oven-shaped cavity filled with fine earth to within a few inches of the roof. When this earth was cleared away sufficiently to explore the cavity, another doorway appeared in the opposite wall, beyond which was a second chamber. This was in like manner cleared, when it was found that the second doorway led into a third chamber, and that again into a fourth. Three of these chambers are of nearly the same size, measuring 23 ft. by 21 ft.; the fourth, which is set at right angles to the others, is something smaller in dimensions. Communicating with this fourth chamber was a passage which has only been as yet explored for 30 ft. These four chambers contained no sepulchral remains; their true character was revealed to General

Cesnola by the discovery of a gold bracelet in the lowest layer of earth in the chamber first discovered (marked C in his plan). Carefully clearing out and sifting this earth, he extracted from it that wonderful collection of gold bracelets, earrings, rings, gems, and other precious objects which now adorns the museum at New York, and which might have enriched our own national collection. Such a discovery would alone have been sufficient to content an explorer for the rest of his life; but General Cesnola's good fortune did not end here. The second chamber (D of his plan) contained upwards of 300 articles in silver and silver-gilt—cups, bowls, dishes, ewers, massive armlets and bracelets—not scattered along the floor as in the Golden Treasury, but placed on a ledge about eight inches above the pavement along the eastern wall. The vases stood by themselves, the sixty bracelets in three heaps, the bowls and dishes stacked, one inside the other, in nine heaps, the uppermost bowl in each heap containing earrings, rings, armlets, and *fibulæ*.

Three silver-gilt bowls, one inside the other, were placed apart by themselves. On the inside of all these subjects had been engraved, but two of them were so much oxidised that it was impossible to separate them. The contents of the next chamber (E) were not so valuable, consisting chiefly of vases in alabaster, and figures and groups in terra-cotta. The last and smallest of the chambers (marked F in the plan) contained a variety of objects in bronze or iron. Here were found large bowls with handles in the form of lotos flowers; the remains of a bronze throne, ornamented with bulls' heads, lions' heads and claws; candelabra, vases, cups,

mirrors, spearheads, and personal ornaments—such a store of metal, in short, as we may imagine to have been laid up in the treasuries of kings in the Homeric age. It is to be regretted that the rock-cut gallery leading from this chamber could only be explored by General Cesnola for about 30 ft., owing to the narrowness of the passage and the foulness of the air. At different distances in this gallery were found seven bronze cauldrons. The gold objects found in Chamber C are of various periods, and ranging probably from B.C. 700, or earlier, to the time of Alexander the Great, or perhaps a century later. Among the most precious objects in this treasure are the two solid armlets inscribed with the name Eteandros, King of Paphos, in Cyprian characters. This name has been identified with the Ithuander in the cuneiform list of Cyprian kings who brought tribute to the Assyrian king Esarhaddon, B.C. 672.[188]

Another very precious object is the gold bowl, ornamented inside with two concentric rows of palm-trees, at the feet of which antelopes and aquatic birds are reclining. This is probably, as General Cesnola supposes, of an earlier date than the armlets. The engraved cylinders and the scarabs set in gold or silver swivel-rings form a most interesting series, containing specimens of Assyrian, Egyptian, Phœnician, and early Greek engraving, a classification and description of which will be found in an Appendix by Mr. King. There are some suggestive and useful remarks in this Appendix; but what does Mr. King mean by saying (p. 355) that Dipœnos and Skyllis lived in the thirtieth Olympiad, B.C. 750 (*sic*), quoting Pliny as his authority for this statement, and inferring from the passage which he cites

that the Medes were ruling in Krete at the time when Dipœnos and Skyllis flourished there? Pliny in the passage in question says nothing of the kind; he states that those sculptors flourished Ol. 50, B.C. 580–77, and the words *etiamnum Medis imperantibus* are only added to mark the date as preceding the conquest of the Medes by Cyrus—not at all in reference to any rule of that dynasty in Krete.

The three most interesting cylinders in the Cesnola Collection have been published by Mr. Sayce.[189] The design of one of these he describes as a priest standing in adoration before a deified hero, behind whom stands Rimmon, the Air God. A kneeling suppliant is placed between the priest and the object of his worship, and in the field are three symbolical animals, together with the sun and a group of stars. Mr. Sayce recognises in the cuneiform inscription the name of Naram-Sin, whom he identifies with a Babylonian monarch whose date he states to be before the sixteenth century B.C., and whose name occurs on a vase discovered at Babylon by M. Fresnel. As he is designated on the cylinder as a God, Mr. Sayce considers this a proof of the apotheosis of the Babylonian kings, and in this case he thinks the deification may have taken place during the lifetime of Naram-Sin. These, however, seem hardly sufficient grounds for ascribing this cylinder to so early a date. The inscription on another cylinder is in Accadian, which Mr. Sayce considers a proof that it is considerably older than the one bearing the name Naram-Sin. The third of these cylinders Mr. Sayce does not consider earlier than the eighth or seventh century B.C., from the mixture of Semitic proper names with Accadian words. The inscription is

a dedication to the moon-god by one who held the office of "Recorder of the year."

The draped bearded figure in this design is considered by Mr. Sayce to be a priest. Above him are two Sphinxes very clearly to be recognised on the cylinder, but which Mr. King strangely enough converts in his description into Gryphons.

With the exception of pl. i., No. 4, the remainder of the Kourion cylinders are probably Cyprian imitations of Assyrian prototypes. The extreme rudeness of their designs reminds us of the primitive lentoid gems found in the Archipelago, and also of the representations of animal life in the Mycenæan antiquities. Among the Egyptian gems is one with the cartouche of Thothmes III., but, as there is ground for supposing that this cartouche was repeated on scarabs of a later period than the reign of that king, we must not regard its occurrence here as very trustworthy evidence as to the antiquity of the series among which it was found.

The number of scarabs in the Kourion treasure which we may class as Phœnician with more or less of certainty is probably larger than exists in any public museum at present, even if we do not include all placed under this head by Mr. King; and fig. 8, pl. vi., and figs. *a. b. d.* and 22 in pl. viii. may be as probably the work of native Cyprian as of Semitic artists. On the other hand, No. 4 in pl. v., classed among the Egyptian series, seems rather a Phœnician gem. The subjects of these gems are well worth studying from the curious mixture of Egyptian figures and symbols, and may help some day to solve the problem, What were the deities worshipped by the branch of the Semitic race who engraved these

scarabs? The Greek scaraboids in this treasure, though few, are of peculiar interest, because they form the connecting link between the more archaic scarabs and those later scaraboids, mostly of the fourth century B.C., of which so rich a collection has been obtained from the tombs at Kertch for the Museum of St. Petersburg.

The Rape of Oreithyia by Boreas (pl. ix. fig. 1) and the rape of Persephonè, if such be the subject (*ibid.*, fig. 2), deserve all the praises bestowed on them by Mr. King. I do not quite share his enthusiasm for the Victory (*ibid.*, fig. 4). The figure with two horses (*ibid.*, fig. 5) is evidently Pelops, a rare subject, which appears also on a lentoid gem obtained by Dr. Schliemann from the site of the Heraion near Mycenæ. By far the finest specimens of goldsmith's work in this treasure are the large spirals (*helikes*) terminating in Gryphons' heads (pl. xxviii.), which show a vigour of design and a refinement of execution worthy of the best age of Greek toreutic art. These spirals seem too large to have been worn in the ears, and may have served to ornament tresses of hair; it is, however, certain that earrings of this form were worn.

On page 297 is an earring identical in type with those found at Tharros in Sardinia. By an inadvertence which might have been avoided, the engraver has placed this same type upside down on pl. xxvii. On a pendant (pl. xxv.) may be recognised the same Sphinx which occurs as an ornament on the high crowns of the terracotta figures found at Kition, which have been already noticed. The crystal phial with its golden lid fastened by a chain, and the agate sceptre-head, are two objects

unique of their kind. If the sceptre-head with which Ulysses smote Thersites was of this form, no wonder that his back showed so speedily the marks of punishment.

Of the silver objects found in this treasure by far the most precious is the silver-gilt bowl with friezes in embossed or *repoussé* work, arranged in concentric circles round a central group of a winged figure killing a lion; the encircling friezes are full of groups and symbols which have evidently been adapted by a Phœnician artist from Egyptian prototypes. In the chamber containing objects of bronze a bowl in that metal was found, ornamented inside with a circle of palm-branches radiating from a common centre, within which are four antelopes embossed in relief (p. 337).

I have now noticed the principal objects in the Kourion treasure; but the work before me gives only a meagre idea of the extent and variety of this wonderful collection, which may be truly called a museum in itself.

The question here presents itself, When was this treasure deposited, and by whom? From the inscription on the armlets of Eteandros, and the general nature of the objects which filled the four chambers, we may safely assume that this treasure represents the accumulated votive offerings of several centuries stored in vaulted chambers, in which they were found arranged, not pell-mell, but according to metals. Such underground chambers, called by the Romans *favissæ*, were, for greater security, placed under or near the temples of which they guarded the treasures, just as the gold of the

Bank of England is stowed under the Bank; and General Cesnola's account of what he found at Kourion throws new light on the discovery at Budrum of which I have given the particulars elsewhere.[190] On that site were found under the ruins of vaulted chambers layers of terra-cotta figures and lamps, which I describe as lying "assorted like articles in a shop, many specimens of the same type occurring together;" and a similar discovery took place at Pæstum in 1821.[191] Though there is no direct evidence that a temple stood over the vaults at Kourion, the granite shafts lying on a tesselated pavement above them are, so far as it goes, evidence to that effect.

The question when this treasure was deposited cannot be determined till we have a more full and precise description of the objects which it contained than is to be found in the work here reviewed. The earrings (pl. xxv.), and the ring with Cupids (p. 310), I should not consider earlier than the time of Alexander the Great, and that careful study of the objects which is only possible after their final arrangement in a museum may disclose other evidence of even later date, but, as this treasure is (unfortunately for European students) now at New York, we must be content to wait till further light has been thrown on its origin and date by transatlantic archæologists. In the meantime, Mr. King appears to have solved this problem by a short and easy method. He assumes (pp. 359, 367, 387) that, when the Persians, with the aid of Stesanor, quelled the revolt of Onesilos and the other kings, Kourion was besieged and sacked. Considering that its king, Stesanor, on this occasion, went over to the Persians, it is hardly likely

that they would have rewarded his treachery by sacking his capital, though it might be inferred from the language of Herodotos (v. 115) that *all* the cities of Cyprus were then besieged and taken except Salamis, which surrendered to its former king. In any case, there are many objects in this treasure which must have been deposited long after this Persian conquest.

I regret that the limits of this article prevent me from doing justice to General Cesnola's discoveries on other Cyprian sites. The marble sarcophagus found at Amathous (pll. xiv. xv.), with its frieze so closely resembling some of the reliefs brought from Xanthos by Sir C. Fellows, seems, judging from the style of the sculpture, a work executed when Persian influence was predominant in the island; but the strange figures at either end of the sarcophagus are not accounted for by this supposition, and have yet to be explained. Equally well worthy of study are the embossed silver bowl and fragments of a richly-ornamented buckler from a tomb on the same site (pp. 276–281); the sarcophagus with a battle-scene and other reliefs in a style which we can hardly call other than archaic Greek, and the silver-embossed bowl found at Golgoi (pp. 110–117); the ivory relief in an Egyptian style (p. 233); and the Cyprian and Phœnician inscriptions (pll. 1–12). General Cesnola's excavations have, moreover, contributed very rich materials towards the history of fictile art in Cyprus, as Mr. Murray has shown in his Appendix.

A cursory survey of all the new evidence which the energy and sagacity of General Cesnola has thus brought to light confirms a conclusion to which previous dis-

coveries in Cyprus had already pointed. Here, as in Etruria and many parts of the Hellenic world, that peculiar mixture of Egyptian and Asiatic art which we call the Phœnician style is to be found on the most ancient sites, intermixed with remains which we have good ground for considering as examples of archaic Greek art. But while in those places where the Greek population was sufficiently strong to predominate over all previous settlers and gradually to efface all exotic influences—as, for instance, at Rhodes—we find Greek art gradually asserting itself as a distinct growth till it reaches its mature perfection, no such development can be traced either in Etruria or Cyprus, and, in place of it, we find in both countries archaic art gradually degenerating into a feeble conventional style which it is convenient to call the Hieratic, but which might also be designated the Pseudo-archaic. A glance at the position of Cyprus on the map explains why it never became truly Hellenic.

Its proximity to Tyre and Sidon, the convenience of its harbours and its mineral wealth, must have attracted Phœnician settlers at a very early period; it was probably the first of those stepping-stones by which their traders traversed the vast expanse of waters between Tyre and Carthage. On the other hand, Cyprus was too near the great Asiatic and Egyptian monarchies not to fall under the dominion of the conqueror who for the time being was master of the eastern shores of the Mediterranean; and thus, if we except the heroic episode of Euagoras, the Hellenic settlers in Cyprus take no prominent part in ancient history, and here, as in Lykia and Pamphylia, we find the native language and system

of writing in use at a comparatively late period, because Hellenic civilisation was not strong enough to suppress the use of these languages and characters, as it must have suppressed the Karian and other written or unwritten tongues.

DISCOVERIES AT OLYMPIA.*

On the west coast of the Morea the river Alpheios, emerging from the defiles of Arkadia into the rich alluvial valleys of Elis, discharges its swift and turbid waters into the sea a little south of the island of Zante. That river, so famous in ancient song, whose fabled pursuit of Arethusa under the western sea is one of the most beautiful of Greek myths, receives, about ten miles inland from its mouth, a small tributary called the Kladeos. The little plain enclosed between these two rivers at their confluence, though never the site of a populous city, was one of the most famous spots in the ancient world, for, within this narrow area surrounded by low wooded hills, was the playground of the Hellenic race, the scene of the great Olympic festival. The origin of this festival was referred by the Greeks to a period long antecedent to history. If we are to believe the tale told to Pausanias by the priests of Elis, we must go back for the origin of these games to that Golden Age before the flood of Deukalion, when Zeus was still

* "Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia von E. Curtius," etc. I. II. III. Berlin, 1876–79. "Edinburgh Review," 1879.

an infant, and Kronos his father reigned. According to another legend, which relates to a later phase of mythology, these games were founded by the Tantalid Pelops, while Pindar prefers to ascribe to Herakles himself the merit of their institution. Passing from these rival and conflicting legends to historical times, we come to Iphitos, who is said to have revived the Olympic games with the assistance of the Spartan legislator Lykurgos, and whose date, according to Clinton, would be early in the eighth century.

Half a century after Iphitos the Olympic victory of Korœbos, B.C. 776, marks the starting-point from which the historical record of recurring Olympic festivals begins. From the first Olympiad onwards that register was maintained with hardly an interruption for upwards of eleven centuries, and forms now, as in antiquity, the basis and backbone of Greek chronology.

All through the eventful centuries of Hellenic development the Olympic festival grew with the growth of civilisation, expanding from a local to a Panhellenic, and from a Panhellenic to an Œcumenical gathering. Already at the close of the Persian war the contests on the banks of the Alpheios had obtained a celebrity which threw into the shade the glories of the three other great Agonistic gatherings, the fame of which would hardly have survived to our times, had it not been associated with the immortal verse of Pindar. To have conquered at the Pythian, Isthmian, or Nemean games was much, but such triumphs bore the same kind of proportion to an Olympic victory that the subordinate honours of the Cambridge Tripos do to a Senior Wranglership. It was at Olympia that Alexander, the first

king of that name who reigned in Macedon, having made good his claim to pure Hellenic descent, was allowed to contend in the foot-race. Here, too, the rulers of Western Hellas, Gelon and Hiero of Syracuse, Theron of Agrigentum, Anaxilaos of Rhegium, and the kings of the more remote Kyrene, gained victories in the chariot-race or horse-race. Neither the difficulties of navigation, nor the perils of land journeys, nor even so imminent a danger as the Persian war, checked or disturbed the ardour of the Greek race in celebrating their great national *panegyris* with becoming splendour; and at the very time when Leonidas was holding the pass of Thermopylæ, Olympia rang with the shouts which greeted the charioteer foremost in the race, or the victor in the severe and protracted contests of the *pentathlon*.

To the Greek mind these agonistic exercises were something very different from what our modern notions about national sports and games would lead us to suppose. The long course of gymnastic training, without which the final agonistic triumph could not have been attained, was regarded in antiquity as an essential part of the education of every free man, a duty which he owed his country. Schools for this physical training were maintained in every Greek city. Olympia and the other great agonistic festivals were, as it were, the universities where this elaborate training was tested by competitive examinations of the severest kind. But there was another essential difference between these ancient contests and our modern agonistic sports. The public games of the ancients were held at festivals of which the original and primary object was the celebration of

some religious worship. The local deity presided over the festival. What the Poseidon of the Corinthian Isthmus was to the Isthmian, and the Delphic Apollo to the Pythian games, the King of Gods and men was to the great *panegyris* of Olympia. All that passed at that splendid pageant was done under the immediate sanction and protection of the Olympian Zeus. From his vast altar ascended the smoke of countless hecatombs offered by grateful victors, or by the states and personages who took part in the festival. In his temple, the most imposing edifice in the Olympian plain, was the colossal statue in gold and ivory, executed by Pheidias, which to successive generations of worshippers served as a symbol of the perpetual presence at Olympia of the tutelary deity.

The more we study the conditions and circumstances of the Olympic festival, the more we see how much religion contributed not only to its outward splendour, but to its permanent and wide-spread influence. It is this deep-rooted religious sentiment that inspires the verse of Pindar, and raises his Epinikian Odes above the dead level of commonplace panegyric composed by one mortal for the glorification of another. The Olympic victors whom he celebrates were famous in their generation, but how much should we have known of them now, had not their memories been embalmed in the immortal verse of a *vates sacer?*

The art of the sculptor, not less than the lyric song of the poet, was employed to embody in votive offerings the gratitude of the victor for successes obtained by favour of the Gods. A special and much prized privilege permitted Olympic victors to commemorate their own

prowess or that of the horses who won for them the races in the Hippodrome by the erection of bronze statues or groups within the sacred precinct called the Altis. Thus the successive generations who gazed on these monuments were reminded of the exploits and physical perfection of former champions; the descendant of some famous family of athletes, such as the Rhodian Diagoridæ, might look with just pride on the effigies of his ancestors in bronze; and, as there were few Hellenic states which had not at some time or other contributed a name to the long roll of Olympic victors, the contemplation of these monuments was a constant stimulus to patriotism and to generous rivalry between city and city. Moreover, the inscriptions on the bases of these statues had, apart from their value as an agonistic record, a special interest, because they recorded the names not only of the victors commemorated, but also of the sculptors by whom these works were executed.

But it was not only through gratitude for agonistic victories that Olympia was enriched with votive monuments. Through the long course of centuries during which time was reckoned in Olympiads, the triumphs of war, the redundant wealth of commerce, pious gratitude for past prosperity, or a vague apprehension of divine wrath in the future, often on account of unatoned crime, were for ever supplying the motive and the material for new dedications at Olympia, most of which were in the form of statues of Zeus and other deities. Thus by degrees the Olympian Altis became one great museum of art in which each Hellenic state had a common interest and took a pride in common. Even after Greece had become a Roman province, when the

Olympic contests, degraded by the patronage of a Nero, had lost nearly all their political significance and much of their ennobling influence, the works of art which had accumulated through so many centuries still survived to charm the eye and excite the marvel of the visitors who flocked to the famous games from every part of the Roman world, and of the inquisitive tourists who explored Olympia at other seasons.

It is to one of these pilgrims that we owe a description of the monuments of Olympia, the value and accuracy of which are now more than ever appreciated, since it has been tested by recent excavations on the site. In the latter half of the second century of our era, Pausanias, after visiting many parts of Greece, note-book in hand, wrote that curious work which to the tourists and explorers of all later ages has proved an invaluable guide. Of the ten books into which his "Periegesis" is divided, two are devoted to the history of the festival at Olympia and the description of its monuments. The temple of Zeus, with its chryselephantine statue and other sculptures, occupies, as might be expected, the foremost place in the notice of Olympian *admiranda*. After describing these at great length, Pausanias passes on to the temple which ranked next to that of Zeus, the Heraion dedicated to his consort, Hera. In this temple was preserved that celebrated relic, the chest in which, according to tradition, Kypselos, the future tyrant of Corinth, was concealed when an infant by his mother to hide him from the ruling family of Bacchiadæ. This chest was made of cedar wood, ornamented with parallel friezes in gold and ivory, in which were wrought in relief scenes from many early

myths, accompanied by explanatory legends. Here, too, were very ancient statues of the goddess Hera, the Seasons, *Horæ*, and their mother Themis, and other deities, some, if not all, of which were of ivory and gold; indeed the temple, from the variety of relics it contained, must have been a perfect museum of art. Among other edifices noticed by Pausanias were the Metroon, a Doric temple dedicated to the Mother of the Gods; the Philippeion, a circular edifice erected by Philip of Macedon after his victory at Chæronea, and which contained the chryselephantine statues of kings Amyntas, Philip, and Alexander; and a row of ten Treasuries, dedicated by the Sikyonians and other Hellenic cities, mostly in western colonies. These Treasuries contained many spoils of war and trophies of agonistic victories, with which were intermixed relics of legendary personages. Here Pausanias saw the sword of Pelops with a golden handle; in another Treasury were a colossal statue of Zeus and three breastplates of linen, all presented by Gelon and the Syracusans to commemorate a victory over the Carthaginians, B.C. 480. In the Sikyonian Treasury was a bronze chamber which, according to an inscription, had been dedicated by the Sikyonians to their tyrant Myron, victor in the chariot-race, B.C. 648. Two of these Treasuries had in the time of Pausanias been totally robbed of their contents, and in others the statues of Roman emperors had been substituted for the original dedications.

After having described the temples and other edifices at Olympia, Pausanias next notices the altars. One of these, dedicated to Zeus, was on a colossal scale. It consisted of a lower platform, of which the circumference

at the base was 125 ft., and which was called the Prothysis. The upper platform was composed entirely of the ashes of the victims offered on the lower platform. The total height of the altar was 22 ft. Altars of many other gods and local heroes are enumerated by Pausanias; one of these, like that noticed by St. Paul at Athens, was dedicated "to the unknown gods."

The description of the works of art at Olympia extends over many pages of Pausanias. He gives us, first, a list of statues of gods and heroes, and afterwards those of victorious athletes. As might have been expected, the statues of Zeus himself occupy a large space in this catalogue. One of these had been dedicated by the Greeks who fought at Platæa, and bore the names of their several cities on the base. Another, 27 ft. high, and the greatest of all the bronze statues of Zeus, was dedicated by the Eleians to commemorate their victory over the Arkadians. Most of these statues were due to the piety and gratitude of states and individuals; but there was another source which enriched the Altis with many dedications. In the *bouleuterion*, or council-house, stood the Zeus Horkios, with a thunderbolt in each hand, before whose august figure the athletes who engaged in the games, their kinsmen, the trainers, and the judges who presided, took an oath to perform their several parts justly. At the feet of this statue was a bronze tablet on which was inscribed, in elegiac verse, a solemn denunciation against all who violated their oath. Notwithstanding these terrible warnings, bribery and corruption were not unknown, and these crimes when detected were punished by heavy fines, out of the produce of which bronze

statues, called Zanes, were dedicated to propitiate the offended deity. On the bases of these statues were inscribed the names of the transgressors and of the cities to which they belonged, so as to preserve for all time the record of their crime.

After enumerating the statues of gods and heroes and other sculptures dedicated in the Altis, Pausanias notices those of victors in the different contests which stood in the same sacred precinct. The multitude of these iconic figures was so great that he does not attempt to describe them all, but only gives those which he thought most worthy of notice. In most cases he states not only the name and country of the victor commemorated, but also that of the sculptor by whom the work was executed, and the school to which he belonged—information which must have been mainly derived from the inscription on the base of the statue. Valuable as such notices are for the reconstruction of the history of art, it makes us feel the more how utterly incapable of æsthetic utterance Pausanias was. In his dry unfeeling inventory no word of praise or blame, hardly a hint as to the relative merits of these masterpieces or their distinctions of style, escapes him. If his contemporary Lucian had accompanied him in this visit to Olympia, perhaps we should have had descriptions of statues as graphic as that of the Knidian Aphrodite in the "Amores." But we must be content with the list, meagre as it is, which this conscientious topographer prepared from personal observation; and we know from this catalogue that in the second century of the Christian era there were still to be seen at Olympia upwards of 300 statues in bronze or marble, many of which were from the hand of cele-

brated Greek masters. What was the total number of statues extant at Olympia in the time of Pausanias we have no means of ascertaining. If we are to believe Pliny's statement, there were not less than 3000; but he probably, in this and other cases, used round numbers in a vague and random way.

To complete the picture of Olympia in the time of Pausanias, we must imagine the Hippodrome, the *Stadion*, the *Gymnasion* and training schools, the stables, and other appanages of the games in perfect repair and working order; for the Olympic *panegyris*, though no longer the central point of attraction of a free Hellas, was still a reality, and its celebration continued for another two centuries.

The Festival, though shorn of its ancient splendour, was still maintained with a certain dignity during the reign of the Emperor Julian. In the year A.D. 394 the games were finally suppressed by Theodosius. Whatever remnant of pagan worship had been preserved at Olympia up to that date must have been then abolished, and such sacred lands and treasures of the temples as had not been previously appropriated by Constantine the Great must have been confiscated. Christian iconoclasm, while destroying the statues of the gods, may have spared those which commemorated agonistic victors; but we may be sure that nearly all the works in metal which the Christians spared were melted down by the barbarous hordes of Gothic invaders who, under Alaric, occupied the Morea about A.D. 395.

From this date onwards we lose all trace of Olympia in Byzantine history, but the recent excavations on its site tell us something of what passed in this obscure

and dreary time. We know that one of the buildings recently laid bare by the Germans was a large church of that ancient form which was borrowed from the Roman basilicas. The date of this church is thought to be not later than the middle of the fifth century A.D. When it was erected many of the buildings at Olympia must have been already in ruins, as in its walls are many architectural fragments. The size of this church and the excellence of its masonry show that at the time of its erection a considerable monastery or other Christian community must have been established at Olympia, and this is further proved by the discoveries made by the Germans on the east side of the temple of Zeus. Here has been traced a massive wall, the late date of which is proved by the character of its masonry, in which, as in the so-called wall of Valerian at Athens, many blocks and fragments of ancient buildings and sculpture are inserted pell-mell. This wall traverses the Altis in the midst of the pedestals and other remains *in situ*, and was evidently built for the defence of settlers at an early period in Byzantine history. At that time part at least of the temple of Zeus must have been still standing, as we find that its north-east angle was included in the line of this fortification. Two hoards of Byzantine copper coins have been found within these lines, and the latest of these coins do not go below the reigns of Justinian and his immediate successors. Intermixed with these remains of Byzantine occupation, but in an upper stratum, were huts and rude pottery, evidently the remains of some barbarous race. It seems probable that in the course of the invasion of the Morea by the Slavs about the close of the fifth century A.D., Olympia was

for a time occupied by them. The upper strata of soil showed no sign of subsequent occupation, and it is evident that at some time in the Middle Ages Olympia became so unhealthy that the site was altogether deserted. It seems probable, too, that the same physical changes produced malaria here as at Ephesos. The bed of the Alpheios, like the bed of the Kaystros, gradually rose, till, finding no free outfall at its mouth, it flooded the lands on each side of its course, and formed marshes between Olympia and the seashore. At last the deadly malaria from these marshes made the lower valleys of the Alpheios intolerable in the summer months. Man having abandoned the site, its desolation was gradually consummated by the silent persevering action of nature. The Alpheios, no longer restrained within its ancient channel by the walls and embankment with which the Greeks controlled their rivers, worked fresh channels through the plain "at his own sweet will." While the river was thus at work with wild and fitful energy, another aqueous force was gradually transforming the desolate site into a rich plain, covered with alluvial deposit brought down from the surrounding hills. Any one who has seen the excavations round the temple of Diana at Ephesos will, on visiting Olympia, be at once struck with the similarity in the stratification of the soil. In both cases we have a depth of earth varying from twelve to fifteen feet above the ruins, and formed of deep layers of thick alluvial clay and gravel, representing probably ten centuries of deposit.

The exploration of the site of Olympia was an idea which Winckelmann earnestly cherished more than a century ago. It does not, however, appear that any

traveller examined this site till it was visited by Chandler in 1766 in the course of the mission to Greece on which he was sent by the Society of Dilettanti. Almost the only remains then visible were the massive remains of the temple of Zeus, cropping out of the soil. We find from Chandler that at that time several courses of the *cella* wall were still standing. When Leake visited Olympia in 1805, the Agas of the neighbouring villages were engaged in carrying off the ruins as building materials. In 1813, Colonel Spencer Stanhope, at the request of the French Institute, made a plan of Olympia which shows that the course of the Alpheios then was very different from what it is now. In 1829, an expedition sent to Olympia by the French Government made a partial exploration of the temple of Zeus, clearing away enough of the ruins to ascertain its dimensions and general plan. They also found some of the remains of the metopes, which are now in the Louvre. The results of this expedition are given in the splendid work of Blouet.[192]

Another generation passed away before the idea of exploring Olympia in a comprehensive and thorough manner was seriously taken up in Germany. It is to Professor Ernst Curtius that we owe the first promulgation of this idea in a remarkable lecture which he published in 1852.[193] A mature scheme of operations was afterwards developed under the auspices of the Imperial Crown Prince of Germany, whose earnest and enlightened support has greatly contributed to the success of this enterprise. After many tedious delays a convention was ultimately concluded between the German and Hellenic Governments, by which the right of

making excavations at Olympia for five years was conceded on the condition that all the antiquities found there were to belong to Greece, while on the other hand the exclusive right of taking casts, photographs, and drawings of these antiquities was reserved to the German Government for a limited period. This convention was signed in 1875, and a grant of £8550 from the German Reichstag enabled the Government to equip an expedition on an adequate scale the same year. Operations commenced at Olympia on October 4, 1875, under the direction of Dr. Gustav Hirschfeld and the architect, Herr Adolf Bötticher. The complete exploration of the temple of Zeus, which the French had only partially examined, was the first object undertaken. Trenches were dug all round its site, which were gradually expanded till the ruins of the temple and the margin of ancient surface immediately environing it were laid bare. The first incidents in this excavation are thus graphically told by Dr. Hirschfeld :[194]

It was long before the silent plain spoke. For many long weeks our handbarrows carried away nothing but sand, which lay in compact masses under the thin layer of top-soil. At length, however, we were rewarded. Slowly and gradually the remains of *three* extinct races, piled one upon another like geological strata, were rescued from their death-sleep, and we could once more realise the varied and beautiful picture which the plain had presented before it was choked up with sand. At first the eye could distinguish nothing but a confused mass of fragments of columns and capitals, architraves and blocks of stone, inscriptions and remains of statues, terra-cottas, and tiles; but it soon became evident that these fragments were not in the positions in which they had originally fallen or been thrown down, but that they had been used in constructing huts of a barbarous kind, which had spread like cobwebs over much earlier remains. This was the uppermost or latest stratum. Under the network of huts we arrived at the second stratum, which consists of strong, well-built walls, also of a

date subsequent to the fall of the old world, since they are formed entirely of ancient materials, and are carried so close up to the temple of Zeus that it forms the corner and *point d'appui* of a square fortress covering an area of about 10,900 square yards.

As the upper strata of soil were cleared away, the colossal ruins of the temple of Zeus were gradually disclosed, much of which had evidently never been disturbed since the earthquake by which the temple was thrown down. It will be seen by reference to Plates I. and III. of the Ausgrabungen Pt. II. that on the north side of the temple the columns are lying as they fell, each in front of its own position; the drums of which each shaft was composed, though disunited by the shock of the fall, still remain in their original order, and might, it is said, by the aid of proper appliances, be set up again on their bases. The other architectural members, such as architraves, cornice, frieze, and the marble tiles of the roof, were all there, and afforded ample materials for a restoration of the whole edifice. Intermixed with these architectural remains were the sculptures of the temple, those very pedimental sculptures and metopes of which Pausanias has given us a brief but infinitely precious description.

We shall return to the temple of Zeus and its sculptures after giving a sketch of the whole work of the expedition from October, 1875, to the summer of 1879. Immediately to the east of the eastern front of the temple were rows of bases of statues, which formed narrow streets leading from the south. Nearly all these bases are inscribed with dedications, and on some almost the very words which Pausanias has recorded are still extant in the marble. One of these inscriptions is of peculiar

interest. It belonged to that statue of Victory dedicated by the Messenians and Naupaktians which Pausanias saw in position, and which he states to have been the work of the same Pæonios who made the sculptures of the eastern pediment. The dedicatory inscription on this base confirms this statement, and close to it was lying the very statue of Nikè which Pausanias saw, and which is a work of extraordinary merit, which we shall have to notice more fully. As the area of operations was enlarged, experimental trenches were dug, radiating in various directions from the temple of Zeus. The primary object of these tentative diggings was to ascertain, if possible, the main points in the topography, which up to this date had been matter of dispute. These main points are: The positions of the Heraion, Pelopion, Metroon, and other temples, and also of the Treasuries and Zanes; the limits of the Altis itself; the sites of the Stadion and Hippodrome. Though the indications of Pausanias were not without their value in looking for these points in the topography, his hints, as the result has proved, were too vague to guide the explorers in their search for particular buildings. The exhaustive method of digging trenches, however, soon solved some vexed questions. A trench dug northward disclosed the site of the Heraion, the temple next in size and consequence to that of Zeus. As the excavations were continued on the same line, the site of another of the temples mentioned by Pausanias, the Metroon, was laid bare, and east of this the foundations of the Treasuries which he describes as built at the foot of the small hill which bounded the Altis on the north, and which the ancients called Kronion, or the hill of Kronos. These

foundations were on a terrace raised on steps below which were the bases of the Zanes. A trench dug west of the Heraion disclosed the site of the Philippeion.

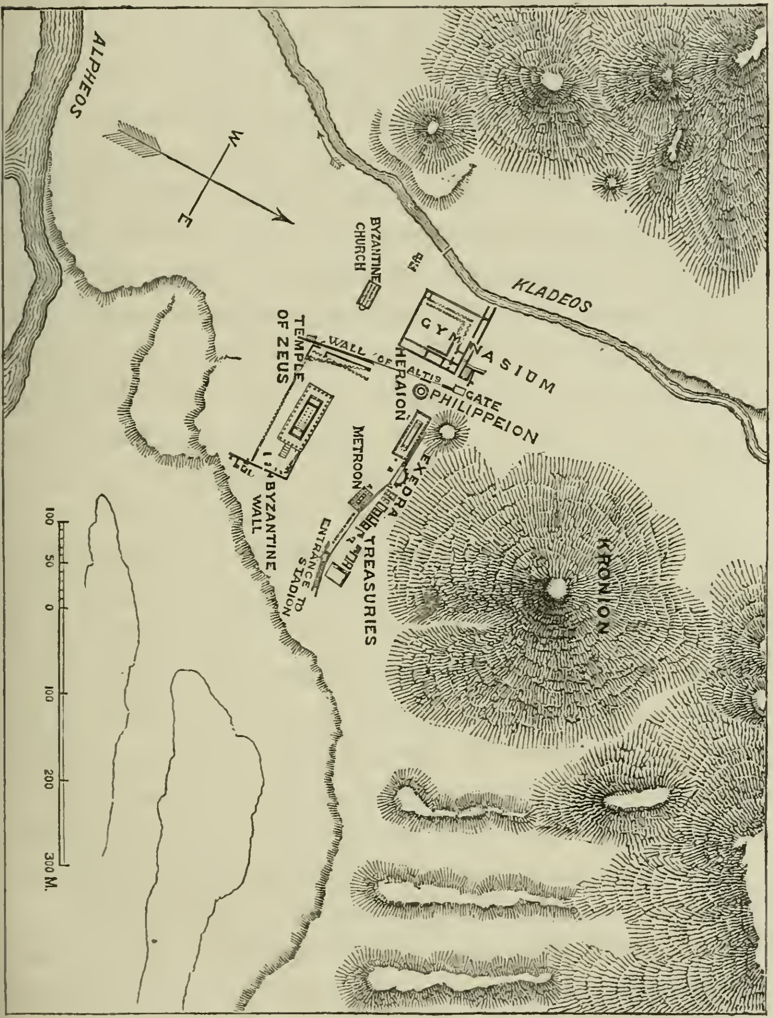
Between the temple of Zeus and the Kladeos, the Byzantine church to which we have already alluded, and of which the upper walls were partially explored by the French, has been completely cleared; and it was discovered that the church is built on the foundations of an ancient Greek building, which has not yet been identified with any of the edifices mentioned by Pausanias. As the trenches radiating from the temple of Zeus advanced, the limits of the Altis have been ascertained. This sacred precinct, which originally must have been a grove round the temple of Zeus, was bounded by massive walls, and the whole area thus enclosed may be reckoned as about 218 yards from east to west, and rather less from north to south. West of the Philippeion was a large *Peribolos*, within which there were remains of a building corresponding in character and position with the smaller *Gymnasion* which Pausanias places near the northern entrance to the Altis. This building forms an abutment at the north-west angle of the Altis, corresponding to another abutment at the north-east angle, which was discovered by following the line of Zanes eastward in search of the entrance from the Altis into the *Stadion*. This entrance, which in antiquity was reserved for the judges and agonists, was found exactly where the statement of Pausanias would lead us to expect it. All these points in the topography had been fixed before the autumn of 1878. In the next season the remains of the Prytaneion were found in the north-west angle of the Altis, between the

Heraion and the northern gate, and the eastern boundary of the Altis has been ascertained by the discovery of the ruins of two porticos. The Stadion, not yet explored, ran not, as has been hitherto assumed, parallel with the eastern wall of the Altis, but in a direction from west to east at the foot of Kronion. In the south part of the Altis a triumphal arch of the Roman period marked the entrance for the solemn processions which passed along the sacred way to the eastern end of the temple of Zeus, and outside the southern wall of the Altis was a great building corresponding in position to the Bouleuterion of the Eleans, as described by Pausanias. The accompanying cut shows the position of the main points in the topography of Olympia which had been ascertained at the close of the season of 1878.

Such has been the work of the first four years, during the latter part of which not less than 300 workmen have been constantly employed from October till May. So far as we know, no excavation with a purely archæological object has ever been before undertaken on so vast a scale and carried on with such rapidity. We will now endeavour to show what archæology has gained by the discoveries which have been made at Olympia up to this date.

In dealing with this question the remains of Greek architecture now revealed for our study should first be noticed. The temple of Zeus, or, as the ancients called it, the Olympieion, is a specimen of Doric architecture nearly contemporary with the Parthenon, and second only in interest to that matchless product of Athenian genius. It is not, like the Parthenon, of marble, but of a shell conglomerate, which Pausanias calls *poros*, and

which was overlaid with a fine stucco. In size the Olympieion almost equals the Athenian temple, measur-



ing 64.10 metres, nearly equal to 200 Olympic feet. The diameter of the columns is 7 Olympic feet in the fronts and $6\frac{7}{8}$ ft. at the sides.[194*] There are six

in the eastern and western fronts, and thirteen on each side, so that the temple, in the language of Greek architecture, may be described as peripteral hexastyle. It stands on three steps, below which was a terrace or platform round the temple, where were many altars and *anathemata*. In the two pediments were compositions sculptured by Pæonios and Alkamenes, and at either end of the *cella* were metopes representing the twelve labours of Herakles. On the apex of the eastern pediment stood a figure of Victory in bronze gilt, below which was a gold shield with an inscription recording its dedication by the Lacedæmonians after their victory over the Athenians and Argives, B. C. 457. The height of the temple is 20.25 metres, equal to about 66 ft. 5 in. English. Pausanias makes it 68 Olympian feet; but he probably included the base on which the Victory stood. On the eastern front of the peristyle were twenty-one gilt shields dedicated by the Roman conqueror Mummius. The marks of these shields may still be seen on some of the metopes and architrave stones; their diameter was 3 ft. 3 in. The roof of the temple, the *sima* of the cornice, and the sculptured metopes within the peristyle, were of Pentelic marble. The tiles in this costly material were adjusted to each other with fine joints, as is the case with the Parthenon. In the lions' heads which served as the gargoyles of the cornice there is a strange inequality of style and execution. While some are modelled and sculptured with the skill which might have been expected in a temple of the Periclean age, others are carved in the rudest manner.

Professor Adler[195] gives a restoration of this temple,

and praises its proportions. He observes that, while its design still shows the austere and massive character of the old Doric, this severity is tempered by a sense of beauty which we do not find in the Sicilian examples of Doric architecture at Selinus and Agrigentum. Professor Adler thinks that in general plan and in detail the Olympieion resembles the older Parthenon, which was destroyed in the Persian invasion. Its first architect, Libon, may thus have lived towards the close of the sixth century B.C., and it may have been finished in the fifth century. The plan of the interior was similar to that of the Parthenon, but with a difference in the relative proportions. Within the colonnade or peristyle was the *cella*, or temple proper, with a vestibule supported by two smaller columns at either end. The one at the east end was called the *pronaos*, the other the *opisthodomos*, or chamber at the back. The *cella* itself was divided into three aisles by two rows of columns, the position of which is marked on the pavement. The small diameter of these inner columns proves the existence of the *hyperoon*, or upper storey, mentioned by Pausanias. The entrance to the *pronaos* from the east was through a pair of folding doors, between the two columns *in antis*. The intercolumniation on either side must have been closed by a *grille* in metal. Inside the *cella* the middle aisle has been separated from the side aisles by a low wall which still remains between three of the columns on the north side. The three intercolumniations nearest the west end had evidently been screened off by a *grille*. These walls may be the barriers which Pausanias describes as fencing off access to the throne of the chryselephantine statue of Zeus, which must have

been placed at the west end of the *cella*, where a passage behind it may be traced.

The pavement of the middle aisle was of marble, the greater part of which has been torn up and carried away by former plunderers of the temple; but the lower pavement or stereobat, on which this rested, is for the most part preserved. There is a curious rent, running longitudinally through it, which may have given rise to the story that Zeus signified his approval of the work of Pheidias by striking the pavement with a thunderbolt, of which the mark was still recorded in the time of Pausanias by a bronze vase on the spot. In the side aisles the pavement is of stucco, and is on a higher level than that of the nave. In the *pronaos*, under a pavement of pieces of marble of different colours of the Byzantine period, the French found a fine mosaic, representing a Triton,[196] the remains of which still exist *in situ*. It is probably the earliest extant specimen of Greek mosaic, and is not composed of *tessellæ*, but of small river pebbles. None of the architectural marbles gave any hint how the interior of the temple was lit. The narrowness of the side aisles and the small size of the *pronaos* and *opisthodomos*, as compared with the area of the central aisle in this temple, form a striking contrast to the distribution of the space in the interior of the Parthenon. Professor Adler thinks that the narrow aisles are characteristic of a more archaic style of temple building.

The Heraion is a Doric temple with six columns in the fronts and sixteen at the sides. The interior is arranged in three aisles with a *pronaos* and *opisthodomos*. The columns of the peristyle vary in diameter

and character. Some of the capitals are of a very archaic type, and some of the shafts are monolithic, while in others very large drums have been used. In the interior slender Ionic columns have been substituted for the original Doric. The material is the same coarse *poros* which is used in the temple of Zeus. The position of the bronze doors and metallic gratings inside can be clearly made out, and on the walls are marks where bronze plates have been attached. Of the many precious works of art and time-honoured relics which Pausanias saw in this temple, nothing now remains except two sculptures, one of which is of peculiar interest, because there is every reason to believe that it is the identical work which Pausanias describes as being by Praxiteles.

The Philippeion is a circular edifice on three steps, surrounded by eighteen Ionic columns. Its roof, Pausanias tells us, was surmounted by a bronze poppy-head. It contained statues of Philip of Macedon and other members of his family in gold and ivory. Nearly all the architectural members of this building have been found *in situ*, so that a complete restoration would be possible. This small edifice has a special interest, because its date may be fixed to B.C. 338. It is, moreover, the earliest example in Greek architecture of a circular edifice, surrounded by columns, if we except the Choragic monument of Lysikrates at Athens, which is of the same date. In both buildings we find the Corinthian order used in the decoration. The little peripteral temple at Tivoli and the temple of Vesta at Rome, are later imitations of this class of buildings. Another Doric temple mentioned by Pausanias, the

Metroon, was found on excavation to be on a smaller scale than might be inferred from his notice of it, being about one-third less than the temple of Zeus. The remains of its architecture found *in situ* were very scanty; but, as many of the drums, capitals, etc., were built into a Byzantine wall, a complete restoration will be possible. In the time of Pausanias, though it bore the name Metroon, all traces of the worship of the Mother of the Gods, to whom it must originally have been dedicated, seem to have disappeared, and he found in it only statues of Roman emperors. It must have been repaired and beautified in some period of Byzantine decadence, as the delicate forms of the architecture are covered with plaster. The arrangement of the columns in the peristyle, eleven in the sides and six in the fronts, is unusual.

West of the Philippeion and outside the precinct of the Altis, was a large area enclosed by a wall or *peribolos*, in the centre of which was a square open court, each side of which is rather more than forty-five yards long. On four sides this has been surrounded by Doric porticos, which, on three sides, open into large rooms abutting on the *peribolos* wall. In the south-west angle is a small vestibule with stone benches ranged round the walls. In the north-west angle has been another similar vestibule. When the *peribolos* was cleared out, remains of sculpture and inscriptions were found lying in two strata, separated from each other by a layer of sand. Among these remains was the base of a statue of the Athenian *rhetor*, Flavius Philostratos. This seems to be the *peribolos* which Pausanias describes as on the left of the entrance to the great *Gymnasion*, and as having *palæstræ* for the athletes to exercise in. It is interesting

as showing us the arrangement of a Greek *palæstra*, and also because we find in the architecture a combination of the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders. The date is thought to be of the time of the *Diadochi*. The remains of a great gateway, with Corinthian columns, found near the north-east angle of the *peribolos*, mark the entrance to the Altis at its north-west angle.

Between this Gateway and the Heraion the remains of the *Prytaneion* were discovered in October, 1878. The plan of this edifice might still be traced; round a great central hall were a number of rooms in one of which were two tessellated pavements, one laid over the other. On breaking through this pavement, the remains of an earlier Greek building with early Doric capitals were found below; it was evident that the original *Prytaneion* had been replaced in Roman times by a larger edifice built on the same site. These remains had not been completely explored at the close of the season 1878–79.

East of the Heraion, at the foot of Kronion, is an interesting monument of the Roman period, the *exhedra* of Herodes Atticus. This is a brick structure, in the centre of which is a semicircular apse, recessed into the side of the hill. Below this apse is a terrace, bounded on either side by two walls, which in the plan form wings to the apse. A small circular Corinthian temple stood in either wing. In the middle of the terrace was a great basin lined with marble, which received a stream of water issuing from two lions' heads. An aqueduct which passed from the east through the vale of Miraka, and part of which is still in working order, supplied this water, which afterwards descended

through many channels into the Altis. Olympia owed this abundant supply of water to the provident munificence of Herodes, by which Greece so largely benefited. On a marble bull which stood in front of the basin, we may still read the inscription which records that Herodes dedicated the aqueduct to Zeus in the name of Regilla, the beloved wife for whose loss he mourned so deeply, and in memory of whom he erected the sumptuous monument, the site of which may still be seen on the Appian Way.

In the interior of the apse, between the Corinthian pilasters, were statues, fifteen of which were found *in situ*. Though the heads of most of these have perished, we learn from the inscriptions on their bases that most of them were the portraits of the family of Herodes, whom the Eleians thus honoured in gratitude to their benefactor. The statues of the contemporary Imperial family, of which remains were found, were probably placed in the two small temples in the wings. These were dedicated by Herodes himself. Professor Adler has made a restoration of this *exhedra*, and remarks that its design shows, in spite of many shortcomings in the details, considerable invention, and that its effect is picturesque, reminding us of similar works of the Renaissance period.

The Byzantine church to the west of the temple of Zeus, which the French partially excavated in 1829, is in form like a basilica, and consists of a *narthex* on the west, opening by three doorways into a nave with two side aisles. The east end of the nave is cut off by a marble screen which separates it from the sanctuary. The east end terminates in an apse, round the interior

of which is a brick bench. The foundations of the altar and priest's chair are also marked. West of the *narthex* are two small chambers; on the south side was a porch. The date of this church, according to Professor Adler, is probably about the first half of the fifth century A.D. The apse he considers a later addition. Built into the walls are Ionic double columns and Corinthian pilaster capitals. These latter were taken probably from the *exhedra* of Herodes. This church is built on the foundations of an ancient Greek edifice, the walls of which are still standing to the height of about six feet, and are built of blocks of *poros*. The masonry is of the best time. The doorway opens to the east. On measuring the lines of these foundations, they exhibited so remarkable a correspondence in scale with the *cella* of the temple of Zeus, that it has been ingeniously conjectured that here stood the building called the workshop of Pheidias, which in the time of Pausanias was still shown to the visitors of Olympia. It is obvious that the chryselephantine statue of Zeus could only have been executed in some permanent building where the precious materials of which it was composed could be properly guarded; and if we suppose that this building was made of the same size as the *cella* of the temple, and lit in the same manner, Pheidias would have had advantages which are seldom enjoyed by modern sculptors, who too often execute colossal works in cramped *ateliers*, where the conditions of light are wholly different from those of the site for which the statue is destined.

The treasuries at the foot of Kronion, the position of which is so accurately marked by Pausanias, are so completely destroyed that nothing but the outline of the

foundations remains. They were built in a row extending eastward from the *exhedra* of Herodes to the door leading to the *Stadion*. Several of them were in the form of small temples *in antis*, and probably resembled the *heroa*, or architectural tombs, which we see represented on vases in the later period of fictile art. The first Treasury on the west had a Doric façade, the eighth and eleventh were surrounded with a small *peribolos*. The row of Treasuries were intersected by two small streets which must have led to the temples of Eileithyia and Aphrodite Urania, placed by Pausanias higher up on the slope of Kronion. Pausanias only mentions eleven Treasuries, but the foundations of twelve have been found. The terrace on which they stood overlooks the Altis, and was approached from below by steps, beneath which, according to Pausanias, were the sixteen bronze statues of Zeus, called Zanes, which, as has already been stated, were dedicated out of the fines levied on account of foul play or other offences in the games. The bases of these figures were found in position, but no relic of the statues themselves, except some fragments of their thunderbolts and part of a colossal foot. The inscriptions on the bases which recorded the names of the offenders had likewise disappeared. The position of the Treasuries and of the Zanes having been once ascertained, the finding of the *Stadion* was inevitable, because its relative position is so clearly indicated by Pausanias. One of the latest discoveries at the close of the excavations in May last was that of the private entrance through which the judges who regulated the contests and the agonists entered the *Stadion*. This entrance is a vaulted passage which led through the earthen bank

which encloses the *Stadion* on this side. In this passage was found a small marble statue of the goddess Nemesis. The *Stadion* running from west to east was bounded on the north side by the natural rise of the ground at the foot of Kronion, on the south by an earthen embankment supported by a wall which may still be traced. The interior of the *Stadion* was full of sand to a depth of more than fifteen feet, and, as the removal of this could only be accomplished at a great cost, it is probable that the German expedition will content themselves with partial exploration here by digging trenches. When the dimensions of the *Stadion* have been ascertained, the exact length of the Olympic foot will be a matter of certainty.

On the east the remains of two Doric porticoes may be distinctly traced which must have formed the eastern boundary of the Altis. The more northern of these is evidently the *Stoa* of Echo mentioned by Pausanias. Outside the southern wall of the Altis, and apparently abutting on it, were the remains of a large edifice consisting of a central square, flanked by two oblong wings terminating in apses, so that the ground plan of the entire edifice nearly approximated to an ellipse. The architecture is Doric, and in his report of this discovery Herr Dörpfeld considers the wings to be of the first half of the fifth century B.C.[197] If this attribution is correct, it would appear that the apse which we are accustomed to associate with later Roman architecture was in use among the Greeks as early as the Persian war. In the southern wall of the Altis were the remains of a triumphal arch which in later Roman times formed the entrance for the processions,

leading up to the eastern door of the temple of Zeus. Between that temple and the southern wall of the Altis was a road leading to the west gate. Along this road were the bases of many statues.

Among the sculptures discovered at Olympia, the first rank must be assigned to the group found in the Heraion, which, as we have already stated, has been clearly identified with the work by Praxiteles seen by Pausanias in that temple.[198] The subject of this group he describes as Hermes holding in his arms the infant Dionysos. The mutilated condition of this group of course detracts greatly from its beauty. Of the infant Dionysos hardly anything remains except the lower half of the body and a much-battered fragment of the back. Hermes has lost both legs and the right forearm, but the head and the rest of the body are in admirable condition, and the features, even to the tip of the nose, are quite intact. Like the Satyrs, the Apollo Sauroktonos, and other figures which we may derive with more or less of probability from the school of Praxiteles, Hermes stands in an easy graceful attitude, the left knee slightly bent, the left elbow resting on the trunk of a tree. The left forearm is advanced horizontally from this *point d'appui*, forming a support on which the infant God is seated, round whose lower limbs drapery is wrapped. Part of the right hand of Dionysos still remains resting on the left shoulder of his protector, to whom he must have been looking up. The right hand of Hermes may have held the *thyrsus*, the attribute of the infant God, while in his left was probably the *caduceus*. Making due allowance for the mutilation

which this group has undergone, what remains of it seems, in our judgment, certainly worthy of the great master to whom Pausanias attributes it. The form of Hermes, which is almost entirely nude, presents that well-balanced combination of grace and strength which we should expect *a priori* in a work by Praxiteles. The outlines are rich and flowing, but with no tendency to effeminacy. The arch playful features seem lit up by a smile, and we see here a subtle refinement of expression which quite bears out what an ancient critic has said of Praxiteles, that his distinguishing excellence was the infusing into marble the emotions of the soul—in other words, that he developed the pathetic tendency of Greek sculpture.[199]

The mantle which hangs from the left arm of this figure over the trunk of the tree has an easy natural flow and a richness of effect which remind us of the drapery of the so-called Artemisia from the Mausoleum. In both these figures the perfect mastery over the marble which the sculptor possessed is shown without any needless ostentation. The hair of the Hermes seems rather roughly and sketchily treated, in comparison with the elaborate finish of the body generally; and this has led more than one German archæologist to suggest that the group was not by Praxiteles himself, but by a later sculptor of the same name.[200] We are of opinion, however, that there is no sufficient ground for such a theory. The value of this discovery in reference to the history of Greek art can hardly be overrated. Scattered about in the museums of Europe are a certain number of statues, in which have been recognised, with more or less of

probability, copies of celebrated works of Praxiteles, either on account of the correspondence of their subject, as in the case of the Apollo slaying the lizard, which seems clearly a replica of the Apollo Sauroktonos mentioned by Pliny, or from their presenting certain characteristics of type and style which ancient critics would lead us to look for in works executed in the school of Praxiteles.

It is obvious that the discovery of one undoubted work by a great sculptor must supply, as far as it goes, a test how far our preconceived notions of his style were well grounded. Such a test we consider to have been obtained in the case of Praxiteles by this discovery of one of his works in the Heraion at Olympia. Such a discovery renders our notions of his style much more distinct and real than they were before, and at the same time may aid us to detect echoes and replicas of his work still latent in Græco-Roman art.

One of the first fruits of the excavations at Olympia was the statue of Victory by Pæonios which is mentioned by Pausanias, and which was discovered lying by its pedestal, part of which was still in its original position. This base, triangular in form, was composed of a number of massive blocks of marble which tapered upwards to a height of more than nineteen feet. The uppermost of these blocks was inscribed with a dedication to Zeus by the Messenians and Naupaktians in gratitude for their successess against their enemies. The inscription states that the statue was made by Pæonios of Mendè, who had obtained the victory in the competition for decorating the pediment of the temple of Zeus with sculpture. We

know Pæonios to have been a contemporary of Pheidias; and the discovery of a statue which can be positively identified as being from the hand of a sculptor of the finest period of Greek art is certainly one of the most valuable results of the German expedition. The statue has suffered a good deal of mutilation. Both arms and the wings are wanting, but enough remains to enable us to understand the original motive.[201] The Victory was represented newly lighted on earth. She is clad in a long *chiton*, the flying movements of which indicate the rapidity of her descent. The wings were doubtless nearly upright on the shoulders, and the body had a forward inclination, something like that of a ship's figurehead, resting on the right foot, with the left a little advanced in the air. To this forward tilt of the figure the skirts of the drapery flying behind must have acted as a counterpoise, while at the same time it helped to express the swiftness of the downward swoop. The ground on which the Victory is alighting is irregularly carved to represent rock, and at the side of the right foot is a head which has been thought to be that of an eagle, but seems more like the head of a gull or other marine bird. The design of this figure is very striking and original, and the composition of the drapery, though in some parts rather dry and meagre in execution, is not unworthy of the contemporary Athenian school. This being so, we might have expected *a priori* that in the sculptures from the eastern pediment of the temple of Zeus, which we know from Pausanias to have been executed by Pæonios, we should recognise the same style. This expectation has not been fulfilled. The fragments of this pedimental composition which have been discovered in the

course of the recent excavations present to us a phenomenon in the history of Greek art for which archæologists were not at all prepared. Before giving a critical notice of these remains, it may be well to repeat from Pausanias the description of this pediment as he saw it intact on his visit to Olympia.[202]

In the front of the temple (*i.e.* in its eastern front) the subject of the sculptures in the pediment is the moment immediately preceding the contest between Pelops and Oinomaos, and the preparation on both sides for the race. In the centre of the pediment is the statue of Zeus, on the right of whom is Oinomaos wearing a helmet, with his wife Steropè, the Atlantid, at his side. Myrtilos, the charioteer of Oinomaos, is seated in front of the horses, which are four in number; after him are two grooms, to whom names have not been assigned. In the angle of the pediment on this side reclines the Kladeos, who, next to the Alpheios, is most honoured among river gods by the Eleians. On the left of Zeus are Pelops and Hippodameia, and the charioteer of Pelops, his horses, and his two grooms. In the angle of the pediment on this side is the river god Alpheios.

This subject was peculiarly appropriate for the decoration of the temple of Zeus from its connection with the early mythical associations of Olympia. The victory over Oinomaos, obtained by Pelops through the treachery of the charioteer Myrtilos, marked the epoch when, according to local tradition, the Olympic gathering first rose to the dignity of a great festival in honour of Zeus.

It may be well here to compare the description which we have just quoted with three extant pedimental compositions with which we have been long acquainted. Archæologists long ago pointed out that, as in the eastern pediment of the Olympieion the scene of the contest was indicated by placing in the opposite angles the two rivers between which the Olympian plain lies, so in the western pediment of the Parthenon, where the

scene takes place on the Athenian Akropolis, the figures in the angle must be the two rivers of Attika, Ilissos and Kephissos. Again, in the two Æginetan pediments now at Munich in which a battle is represented, Athenè stands in the middle of the composition under the apex of the pediment, as if presiding over the contest. We know from Pausanias that this central position was occupied in the Olympian composition by Zeus himself, and we may assume that the moment of preparation for the contest chosen by Pæonios was that when the two contending parties, Pelops and Oinomaos, offered a solemn preliminary sacrifice to the chief deity of Olympia. The remaining figures and groups mentioned by Pausanias were so arranged on each side of Zeus as to correspond with and balance each other. This antithetical symmetry was a rule in ancient pedimental compositions which naturally grew out of the triangular form of the pediment itself. In such compositions superior dignity was indicated by taller statues, and personages so distinguished were accordingly placed in the middle of the pediment, and subordinate figures on each side.

In the autumn of 1875, a very few weeks after the commencement of the German excavations, the remains of the figures from the eastern pediment began to crop up. Some of these were found near the east front of the temple, but a few paces from the place in the pediment which they had occupied. These may have been undisturbed since the shock of an earthquake first flung them down. Other fragments were found built into Byzantine walls at some distance from the temple. The work of collecting and adjusting

these fragments has occupied much time, and, as the excavations advance, fresh fragments are from time to time added; but unfortunately all the figures are at present more or less mutilated, and very few of the heads have survived. Casts of these sculptures are now arranged in a pediment at Berlin in the following order: The colossal male torso must, from its scale, have stood under the apex of the pediment. It may, therefore, clearly be identified with the Zeus which Pausanias places in the centre of the composition. Two male torsos of heroic size, both of which are helmeted, must, from their correspondence in scale, be respectively Pelops and Oinomaos. Oinomaos, on account of his regal rank, would naturally stand on the right hand of Zeus, rather than Pelops; and this is the arrangement adopted in the official report on the excavations. The helmeted head of this figure was not discovered till this year. By his side is placed the draped female torso, whose meditative attitude and general bearing would be very appropriate for Steropè, the wife of Oinomaos. On the left of Zeus stands Pelops, represented by a helmeted torso, the features entirely defaced. By his side we may place the draped female statue which was discovered in the first year of the excavations, and which, not being then recognised as one of the pedimental figures, was called Hestia, from its resemblance to the well-known Giustiniani statue of that goddess. These five figures constitute the great central group. The position of two reclining figures, which represent River gods, in the angles, follows as a matter of course. Alpheios occupies the left angle, and Kladeos, whose head and lower

limbs have been added this year, the opposite angle. Between the angle figures and the central group we must look for the chariots, charioteers, and attendant grooms mentioned by Pausanias. The bodies and heads of three of the horses of Pelops and a few fragments of those of Oinomaos have been found, but no indications of the chariots themselves, which, perhaps, were of metal. Between the central group of five standing figures and the River gods in the angles are six crouching or kneeling figures, the positions of which are still matters of doubt. Among these we must look for two grooms, mentioned by Pausanias, and for Myrtilos, the treacherous charioteer of Oinomaos. The bald and bearded figure who is looking so intently towards the central group may be either a seer or *mantis*, or, as has been conjectured, a trainer. The kneeling female figure, not mentioned by Pausanias at all, may be a local Nymph; her head has been found this year. Four of these figures are headless, and none of them have any attributes by which they can be identified, and thus the archæologists who have had the arrangement of these sculptures at Berlin confess their uncertainty by exhibiting two sets of casts differently arranged. It will have been seen on comparison of the extant remains of this pedimental composition with the description in Pausanias, that though the number of torsos (thirteen) corresponds with the number of figures which he mentions, these cannot all be identified with the statues noticed by Pausanias. But they correspond sufficiently with his description to vindicate its general accuracy, and to show the character of the composition. Throughout reigns that repose which, according to the

principles of ancient art, would be the most fitting expression of so intense a crisis. The horses rest patiently; the five dominant figures of the central group stand detached from each other like a row of columns; as the lines of the pediment converge to the angles, the figures sit or recline in the narrowing space in easy attitudes; but if their heads had been preserved they would probably have indicated something more of the watchful interest which we may discover in the countenance of the bald-headed old man.

When we turn to the sculptures of the western pediment, we have much more difficulty in making out the scheme of the composition, because Pausanias has not described these works so fully. The subject, he tells us, was the battle between the Lapiths and Centaurs at the marriage feast of Peirithoos, on which occasion the Centaurs, giving way to the brutal lusts of their semi-equine nature, insulted the wives of their Lapith hosts. Theseus, the friend of Peirithoos, took an active part in this fray, in which the Centaurs were finally routed. This subject was a favourite one with the Athenian artists of the Periklean and later periods, giving them an opportunity of celebrating the prowess of the Attic hero Theseus, the protagonist in this battle. In the centre of the pediment, according to Pausanias, was Peirithoos. Near him was on one side his bride struggling in the grasp of the Centaur Eurytion. On the other side of Peirithoos was Theseus, attacking the Centaurs with his battle-axe. Of the Centaurs one was carrying off a virgin, the other a boy. This is all that Pausanias tells us of this composition. The remains of these pedimental sculptures which have been recovered

have been as yet only partially published. Since the last series of photographs appeared, some very important fragments have been added, which go far to render possible the restoration of the entire composition. The figures are not, as in the eastern pediment, isolated, but cross each other in complicated groupings. We may resolve these combinations into six principal groups.

The colossal male figure, the scale of which shows that its place was in the centre of the pediment, should, according to Pausanias, be Peirithoos. On the other hand the character of the head reminds us of Apollo. Hence the editors of the "Ausgrabungen" do not hesitate to claim this torso as Apollo, supposing that Pausanias has either by inadvertence failed to notice the principal figure in the pediment or been misinformed by his cicerone—an assumption which, however, has not commanded unanimous assent among German archæologists. This central figure extends his right arm towards a group which is now thought to be the Centaur Eurytion seizing the bride of Peirithoos, whose name, not given by Pausanias, was Deidameia. On the left a Lapith, who, if the central figure is Apollo, would probably be Peirithoos, hastens to her aid. Balancing this group on the right of the central figure is a group of a Centaur, a woman, and a Lapith, of which last figure only the foot remains. Next on the right is the group of a Centaur carrying off a boy, and next on the same side, the best preserved of all the groups, a Centaur, from whom a woman strives to escape, is stabbed in the breast by a Lapith. The two groups on the left corresponding to these have not as yet been satisfactorily recomposed from the fragments which now remain. The two reclining female

figures must have occupied the angles of the pediment. One of them (pl. XII.) has the head perfectly preserved, and the expression of her face is evidently that of a person watching the fray without being immediately concerned in it. There can hardly be a doubt that these two figures represent local Nymphs, and they would thus mark the natural features of the scene where the battle took place, just as the River gods in the other pediment indicate the site of Olympia. These two reclining figures are wholly unnoticed by Pausanias. Next to them are two female figures lying on the ground, whose barbaric and realistic features have been accounted for on the supposition that they are slaves.

Such are the scanty remains of the compositions which Pausanias attributes to Pæonios and Alkamenes. Are they worthy of those names? Are they equal to our preconceived hopes? In order to answer these questions we will first discuss the sculptures of the eastern pediment. It might have been expected *a priori* that these would have presented some such similarity in style to the Nikè of Pæonios as we generally find in works from the same hand; but this is not the case. In the Nikè we find nothing at variance with the traditions of the Athenian school, though the execution is inferior to the best contemporary sculptures of that school; but the pedimental figures attributed by Pausanias to Pæonios seem the work of half-trained hands, attempting more than they had knowledge to execute. We miss in these figures that fine perception which so early led the Greek artist to discern the organic life under the surface of the body; through which he gradually learned how to show the logical relation between the muscles and tendons,

which are the sources of motive power, and the bones which give them leverage; the sensitive and elastic character of the skin, which masks and protects this inner organisation; and the laws and conditions under which drapery has to be represented. It is not to be denied that in the sculptures of the eastern pediment there is a certain rude force which here and there produces striking effects; but the artist seems only right by a happy chance, not by rule, and for the most part his anatomy is careless and full of shortcomings, the movements abrupt and awkward, and the draperies a mere confused mass of turgid bloated folds thrown together at haphazard, bearing about the same relation to the finest examples of drapery in ancient sculpture as the *ampullæ* of bombast do to true oratory.

How far these defects were atoned for by the aid of colour, and how far the ungainliness of the separate figures was modified by their position in a pediment of which the base was more than fifty feet above the eye, and by their relation to the whole pedimental composition, we may perhaps be able to judge when the most favourable mode of exhibiting these sculptures has been ascertained by experiment. In the meantime the problem which the sculptures of Pæonios presents may be best studied by comparing these works with the remains of the composition by Alkamenes in the western pediment. The sculptures in this pediment have found far more favour with the critics than those of the eastern pediment, not only because they are in much better condition, the heads in several cases having been preserved intact, but because the groups have a more dramatic character, and produce a more

stirring and lively impression. But do they correspond to our preconceived notion of the art of Alkamenes, the sculptor who, according to Pausanias, was reputed second only to Pheidias in the highest excellences of his art? It must be confessed that the execution of these sculptures is not what we should have expected in an artist who was so greatly esteemed by his contemporaries and by the general judgment of antiquity. We find in them the same faults and shortcomings as in the sculptures of Pæonios in the eastern pediment, while, on the other hand, there are more decided marks of genius in their design. We would particularly draw attention to the group which was formerly thought to represent Eurytion and Deidameia, but is now identified with the group of a Centaur carrying off a virgin described by Pausanias. The head of the female figure is perfectly preserved, and of the body enough remains to show the action of the group. The Centaur has with his right arm seized his prey round the waist, while his right foreleg is bent round, so that the hoof rests against her right hip. His right hand has torn her *chiton* from its fastening on the left shoulder, while his other hand invades the breast thus left bare. With either hand the captive vainly endeavours to unlock his brutal grasp. Her head inclined forward looks down with an expression in which shame and indignation seem blended with the hope of speedy rescue. Incidents in the Centauromachia such as this group represents were favourite themes with the Athenian sculptors of the Periklean age, as we see in several of the metopes of the Parthenon and in the Phygalian frieze. In none of these sculptures is the subject treated with such dramatic force as in the Olympian

group, in which the daring invention shown in the conception makes us forget the many shortcomings in the execution.

But when we turn to the other groups in the pediment of Alkamenes we find in more than one of them an extravagance and strain which seems hardly compatible with the rhythmical balance of parts characteristic of Greek sculpture even when violent action is represented. If we suppose the figures in the western pediment to have been actually from the hand of Alkamenes, we should expect to find in their execution a much stronger affinity with the contemporary Athenian sculptures, and a greater contrast in style to the eastern pediment. This, however, is not the case. The sculptures in the two pediments not only fail to present such marked difference in execution as to lead us to consider them works of different schools, but, on the contrary, they show on comparison a strong family likeness, such as would ensue if both compositions were carved by the same local school of sculptors working from designs furnished by Pæonios and Alkamenes.

That it was the practice in antiquity to employ a number of subordinate artists on public works under the direction of a great master may be generally assumed. Pheidias, as we know from Plutarch, was the Director-general of the public works executed by Perikles at Athens, having under his command whole brigades of sculptors and craftsmen skilled in every branch of art. In the case of the frieze of the Erechtheion, an extant inscription tells us the names of the sculptors employed on the several figures and groups and the sums paid to them.[203] It is evident that at the time of Perikles the grand scale of the public works and the intelligence

which directed them must have drawn to Athens the best sculptors from every part of Hellas, and hence the sustained excellence which is so remarkable in all the Athenian sculptures of the Periklean age. But it would appear that at Olympia no such school of skilled artists existed when Pæonios and Alkamenes were employed on the two pediments of the temple of Zeus. These masters had to carry out their designs as best they could with the aid of such half-trained craftsmen as they could obtain on the spot, and hence the strange mixture of knowledge and ignorance in the sculptures of these pediments. Hence, too, when we examine the many lions' heads from the cornice of the temple, we find some of these sculptured with the force and delicacy which are characteristic of Greek architectural ornament in its best time, while others are so barbarous that they are hardly superior to the work of the rude provincial masons who carved the gargoyles of our Norman and Gothic churches. The immense disparity between the design and the execution which we find in the Olympian pediments cannot, in our judgment, be satisfactorily accounted for on any other assumption than that here adopted. A different view, however, has been advanced by Professor H. Brunn. In an elaborate memoir, which deserves the attention of archæologists not less for the subtlety of the argument than on account of the great reputation of its author, he maintains that the peculiarities of style in the pedimental sculptures of Olympia are due to the fact that Pæonios, who was a native of Mendè in Thrace, imported to Olympia the style then prevalent in Northern Greece; that Alkamenes, who was by origin an Athenian colonist of Lemnos, was trained

in the same school; and that both these sculptors afterwards entirely changed their style under the influence of Pheidias.[204] This theory is based on the assumption that there was in Northern Greece a school of sculpture differing essentially from the Æginetan and Athenian schools, and presenting certain peculiar characteristics which may be recognised in the Olympian pediments. But was there such a northern school at all? We must confess that the evidence adduced by Professor Brunn to prove this appears to us to be so scanty and inconclusive that his elaborate argument may be said to rest on a *petitio principii.*

In the course of the recent excavations portions of several of the metopes of the temple of Zeus have been recovered. We know from Pausanias that these metopes were twelve in number, and that they decorated the fronts of the *pronaos* and *posticum* over the columns *in antis.* Their subjects were the labours of Herakles, the hero who is connected with the earliest traditions of Olympia. Of these twelve metopes four were discovered in the French expedition in 1829. The subjects of those now extant are as follows: (1) Herakles subduing the lion. (2) His contest with Geryon. (3) His contest with the Kretan bull. These three are at Paris. (4) Herakles sustaining the heavens; Atlas stands by. (5) King Eurystheus and the Erymanthian boar; the figure of Herakles is wanting in this metope. (6) Athenè standing; the companion figure is wanting. The subject of this metope is unknown. (7) Athenè or a Nymph sitting on a rock; the companion figure is wanting. This figure is in the Louvre.[205] These metopes vary in style. Two of those found by the French, the

Herakles with the bull and the Athenè seated on a rock, remind us in their modelling of the sculptures in the eastern pediment. On the other hand, the metopes of Herakles and Atlas and the single figure of Athenè found by the German expedition seem the work of a mature and well-trained school. In these two metopes the architectonic severity of the drapery is skilfully contrasted with rich and flowing lines in the modelling of the nude, and as compositions they seem admirably adapted to their place in the temple. Pausanias does not inform us by whom the metopes were designed. From the traces of archaism in these sculptures, we incline to the belief that some of them may be the work of a Peloponnesian school which had been very carefully trained, but had not yet attained the perfect freedom and mastery over material which distinguish the school of Pheidias.

In this notice of the Olympian sculptures we have not attempted to describe in detail all that have been disinterred in the course of the German expedition. Such a complete list will not be possible till we have become better acquainted, through casts and photographs, with the fruits of these discoveries, and till the many stray fragments have been examined with a view to their readjustment. Near the Metroon were found two marble torsos of Zeus. One of these, inscribed with the names of two Athenian sculptors, Philathenaios and Hegias, seems rather mannered in style, and is probably of the Roman period; the other, which is on a colossal scale, is of an earlier date, and is said to be a work of great merit.[206] A colossal female head in archaic style, and sculptured in

sandstone, is thought to have belonged to the seated figure of Hera which Pausanias describes as placed in the Heraion near a Zeus and a helmeted Deity. This head was found not far from the Heraion. In the western wall of the Byzantine fortress built round the temple were found many fragments of a series of figures half life-size, sculptured in very high relief and representing in calcareous stone a battle-scene. The style is archaic, and all the figures had more or less of colour. The hair, lips, eyes, and eyebrows were painted red, the rest of the body without colour, the ground of the relief deep blue. These figures are described as having a very life-like character, but the discoverers were uncertain whether they originally belonged to a frieze or a pedimental composition.[207] It is disheartening to think that as yet only insignificant fragments of the great host of bronze statues which once decorated Olympia have survived; but, as the ground below the ancient level of the Altis is being gradually explored, several archaic bronzes of great interest have come to light, and further excavations in this ancient subsoil may discover many more waifs and strays. Pausanias tells us that, while he was at Olympia, he saw pieces of ancient armour and other relics thrown up in the course of digging a foundation for the base of a Roman statue then about to be erected; and if there is any foundation for the story told by Suetonius, that Nero threw some of the statues of the Victors into the sewers, relics of these may yet be found when all the subterraneous passages have been cleared out.[208] This will be one of the last labours of the German expedition.

The Greek inscriptions found in the course of the

excavations, range in date probably from the seventh century B.C. to the third century A.D., and thus exhibit specimens of Greek palæography in various stages, while in many cases the date of the inscription is fixed by internal evidence. The philological interest of many of these inscriptions is very great, from the number of local peculiarities of dialect and orthography which they contain. The digamma occurs in several combinations previously unknown, and the curious substitution of ρ for σ in the final syllable, which the ancients called *rhotakismos,* and which is characteristic of the Æolic dialect, prevails as late as the second century B.C. A large proportion of the inscriptions record the names of Olympic victors, many of whom are of the Roman period. We find too here and there interesting dedications, some of which are inscribed on pedestals on which once stood the statues of historical personages. Our space will not permit us to do more than allude here to the new and promising field of inquiry which these texts present to the student. We cannot, however, pass over one inscription of peculiar interest. It relates to a long pending dispute between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians about a certain territory on the west slope of Mount Taygetos, called by Tacitus the *ager Dentheliates.* The contention about this territory began in a very remote period of Spartan history, and was probably the cause of the first Messenian war. After the conquest of Messenia the territory in question remained in the hands of the Lacedæmonians till the victory of Chæronea enabled Philip of Macedon to interfere in the affairs of the Peloponnese. Setting aside the claim of the Lacedæmonians, he restored the *ager* to the

Messenians, who were afterwards confirmed in possession by Antigonos Doson, and later by Mummius, the conqueror of Corinth. The Lacedæmonians, not content with the award of Mummius, persuaded the Roman senate to let them refer the long-standing dispute for arbitration to the Milesians. The proceedings in this arbitration are set forth in the inscription with which we are now dealing. After the reference to a third party had been duly authorised by a *senatus consultum*, the Milesians convened a special assembly of the people in the theatre, and chose by lot six hundred citizens to judge the question referred to them, which was: Which of the contending parties was in possession of the land when Mummius was in office in the Peloponnese? Advocates on both sides were allowed to plead for a given space of time measured by the *klepsydra*, or water-clock, which, to prevent any unfair play, was placed in the charge of two officers appointed severally by the Lacedæmonians and Messenians.[209] The decision of this multitudinous jury was again in favour of the Messenians, only sixteen out of the six hundred voting for their antagonists. In order to place this matter beyond question for all future time, the Messenians obtained from the Milesians a duly attested copy of the judgment, and then, by special permission of the Eleians, had it engraved on marble at Olympia. In their hope thus to perpetuate the record of this judgment they have not been disappointed; for this inscription, engraved on the immense triangular blocks which formed the pedestal for the Victory of Pæonios, has by an extraordinary chance survived almost intact from the time of its setting-up, about B.C. 140, to our own

day. It might be thought that a judgment so solemnly delivered and recorded would have settled for ever the long-pending dispute; but about a century later the disturbing influence of Rome again comes into play. Augustus, in gratitude for assistance rendered at Actium, gave back the territory to the Lacedæmonians; and a few years afterwards, in the reign of Tiberius, both parties again appealed to the Roman senate. The result is recorded by Tacitus.[210] The land was once more restored to the Messenians; and this decision, which took place A.D. 25, we may assume to have been final. In order to prevent any possible misunderstanding, two pillars were set up on Mount Taygetos, with the inscription, "Boundary of Lakonia on the side of Messenia." About forty-six years ago the Lakonian peasants of the district where these pillars still stood, fearing that they might be cited against them as an argument for including their villages in the modern province of Messenia, to which they had strong objections, threw down and displaced these boundary stones, which must have remained in their original positions for 2000 years.[211]

Those who have studied Greek inscriptions will, on reading this history of the long-contested *ager Dentheliates,* be reminded of the dispute between Samos and Prienè for a similar cause. In that case, too, the rival claims to a piece of territory had lasted from a very early period, since we find one of the Seven Wise Men taking a part in it. Award after award had been made to no purpose by friendly states or by Macedonian kings, glad of an opportunity of intermeddling, till the matter was finally settled by the Roman senate. In that case, too,

the several awards and final adjudication were solemnly recorded by being engraved on the walls of the temple of Athenè at Prienè. The shattered remains of these curious documents were rescued from impending destruction by the Society of Dilettanti, some few years before the German expedition brought to light the interesting contribution to the history of the Peloponnese of which we have given a *précis*.[212] If the narratives of ancient historians rather give us the impression that the Greek cities were constantly at war with each other on petty or needless grounds, the evidence of inscriptions, on the other hand, shows us how often wars must have been prevented by reference to friendly arbitration; and the records of such pacific triumphs at Olympia must have contributed to the civilizing and humanizing influence of the solemn festival, during which for a brief space every five years the din of arms ceased.

This great enterprise, which has now entered on its fifth season, has been carried on by the German Government with an energy and disinterested liberality without parallel in the annals of Archæology. During the three first seasons, the annual sum voted by the German Reichstag for this expedition has averaged 7500*l*. Through this liberal provision, the excavations, planned in the first instance on an adequate scale, have been conducted with the despatch needed to complete the original scheme within the time accorded by the Convention. By the constant presence at Olympia of a staff of active and intelligent archæologists, the record of the operations has been kept from day to day with a keen exactness of observation which insures the due appreciation of every detail of the discoveries, however minute.

Is it too much to hope that some other nation may come forward to emulate the enlightened spirit which has undertaken this arduous and costly enterprise, not for the advantage of the German nation alone, but for the common benefit of all to whom classical archæology is matter of interest? Many sites could be named, both in Greece and Turkey, which promise a rich field for archæological research; it seems strange that in this nineteenth century, which claims to be the "heir of all the ages," there should be so few labourers to gather in so ripe and abundant a harvest. It may be alleged that the delays and difficulties which both the Greek and Turkish Governments raise whenever permission to excavate is applied for, are a great hindrance and discouragement to such enterprises. But there is a corner of the Levant where no such obstacles would stand in the way of an exploration undertaken by the British Government. That corner is the island of Cyprus, an island which, though as yet only cursorily examined, has proved so rich in antiquities that the Museum of New York has already been created out of its spoils.

GREEK ART IN THE KIMMERIAN BOSPOROS.*

In an article which appeared in the "Portfolio," of July 1874, I drew attention to a series of sculptures which bring down the history of Greek art as late as the accession of Alexander the Great, from which period onward, there is a want of emphatic and well-authenticated examples of sculpture, till we approach the Augustan age, when the antiquities of Herculaneum and Pompeii can be used as illustrations. But if this intermediate period of Macedonian ascendancy—say from B.C. 330 to B.C. 100—is deficient in examples of monumental sculpture, it is singularly rich in smaller works of art, such as coins, gems, vases, terracottas, gold ornaments; and in the Second Vase Room and in the Gem Room of the British Museum may be seen some exquisite specimens of these classes, derived principally from Southern Italy, but also from Athens, the islands of the Greek Archipelago, and Kyrenè.

Among the vases of this period the *amphora* from Rhodes, on which is painted the capture of Thetis by Peleus, is, perhaps, the finest extant specimen of the later school of ceramography. The fictile art of Southern

* The "Portfolio," Nos. 58 and 60.

Italy is nobly represented by the series of vases and *rhytons* from Capua, recently purchased from Signor Castellani, the celebrated Meidias vase from the Hamilton Collection, and by many other choice specimens which once adorned the Pourtalès and Blacas Museums. We have, too, thanks to the zeal and intelligence of Messrs. Werry, Crowe, and Dennis, successively consuls at Benghazi, a most interesting collection of later vases from the Kyrenaica, including several of which the dates are fixed by the names of Athenian archons inscribed on them;[213] and the later ceramography of Athens is well represented by a series of polychrome *lekythi*, and smaller vases. In connexion with these vases of the Macedonian period should be mentioned the later terracotta figures from Athens, Tanagra, Southern Italy, and the Kyrenaica, in which the national collection is very rich.

The collection of gold ornaments in the British Museum has only lately been developed in sufficient extent to admit of instructive classification. The many fine specimens of the later Greek goldsmiths' work and jewellery are one of the most striking features in this arrangement. I would particularly mention here the Melos necklace and the series of earrings, which have been obtained partly from the Greek islands and the West coast of Asia Minor, and partly from Southern Italy. Among the gems will be found some portraits of kings in the Macedonian period, which may be best studied in connexion with the regal coins of the same period, electrotypes of which are now exhibited.[214] But, if it may be said that the history of later Greek art is amply illustrated in the British Museum, such illustration is

certainly not sufficient for the student, unless taken in relation to the treasures of other museums. Thus, as might naturally be expected, it is in the Museum at Naples that the later fictile art of Southern Italy may be best studied; and through the purchase of the Campana Museum, and the excavations made by M. de Bourville at Kyrenè, the collection of terracottas in the Louvre has become one of the finest in Europe.

The Museums of France and Italy lie on the great highroad of European travel, and are familiar to most students of art. But, if we want to trace out the history of ancient goldsmiths' work and gem-engraving through the splendid and luxurious period ushered in by the conquests of Alexander, and if we would follow Athenian fictile art through the successive phases of its decadence, we must turn from the beaten track of tourists and go north. In the Museum of the Ermitage at St. Petersburg are treasures of Greek jewellery, metallurgy, and fictile art, of matchless beauty and surpassing interest. These treasures have been, for the most part, obtained from the excavations which the Russian Government has so perseveringly and intelligently carried on for many years in the district round Kertch, once the seat of Hellenic civilisation; and the same enlightened policy which initiated those explorations has made their results known to Europe in two magnificent publications, not so much studied in this country as they deserve—the "Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien," edited by Gilles in 1854; and the "Compte rendu de la Commission archéologique St. Pétersbourg," now being published by M. Stephani. As these costly volumes are probably in very few private or public

libraries in this country, it may be worth while here to draw attention to some of the remarkable discoveries which they record and illustrate. And first it may be well to say a few words about the region from which the treasures of the Ermitage have been mainly derived—that remote outpost of Hellenic civilisation where a Milesian colony held its ground for several centuries in immediate contact with the fierce hordes of Scythia—the country anciently called the Tauric Chersonese, now the Crimea. It was here that some time in the sixth century B.C. the adventurous Milesians founded one of the earliest of their colonies on the north shore of the Euxine, the city of Pantikapæon, a place which, under its modern name—Kertch—will ever be associated in our memories with one of the most striking episodes of the Crimean War. The position of Pantikapæon, at the extremity of the little peninsula which forms the western side of the Kimmerian Bosporos, was chosen with that judgment which the early Greek colonists generally showed when they had to get a footing on a coast liable to the sudden inroads of barbarians. A dyke cut through a narrow isthmus separated the little territory round Pantikapæon from the rest of the Tauric Chersonese; and the maritime supremacy of the Milesian colonists enabled them to command the narrow straits leading into the sea of Azoph, and to get possession of the peninsula on the Asiatic side of the strait, on which Phanagoria and other Greek cities were founded. Over this little territory, bounded on the west by Theodosia, an hereditary dynasty of Greek princes reigned from B.C. 438 onwards till the great Mithradates absorbed their territory into his Pontic empire, about three

centuries afterwards. The position of these princes of Bosporos was peculiar. As regarded their Greek subjects they claimed no higher title than that of Archon, though their rule was despotic, and they styled themselves kings of all the barbarous tribes in the Asiatic part of their dominions. But on the European side of the straits their authority was less firmly established, and they had to pay tribute to the powerful Scythian tribes who bounded them on the west of Theodosia. The land lying between Pantikapæon and Theodosia was fertile in corn, while the Palus Mœotis supplied abundance of fish, as well as of salt; and these commodities, as well as salted meat, hides, and barbaric slaves, found their way to the markets of the Greeks round the Ægean, where they were exchanged for the oil, wine, and other products of the more genial south. This trade was mainly carried on with Athenian capital and under the Athenian flag, and hence arose that close alliance between the kings of the Bosporos and the Athenian people to which we have frequent allusions in Demosthenes, and other Attic orators, and of which, as I shall show, other evidence is afforded by the tombs near Kertch.[215]

The first explorers of the Kimmerian Bosporos were M. de Stempkovski and a French *employé* of the Russian Government, Paul Dubrux. It was in 1831 that Dubrux examined the celebrated tumulus called by the Tartars Koul Oba—"the Hill of Cinders."[216] Within this mound was a square chamber surmounted by an Egyptian vault, and containing three human skeletons and the skeleton of a horse. Of these, one, which had belonged to a man of large stature, lay in a wooden coffin, in one compartment of which were the remains

of an iron sword, a whip, and a bow-case, all mounted in gold or electrum. On the head were two hoops of gold, which had probably supported the tall Oriental helmet called *kidaris*. Round the neck was a tórc; the arms were encircled by armlets and bracelets of gold. In front of this coffin was a female skeleton, adorned with magnificent gold ornaments. The third human skeleton was found near that of the horse, and was probably that of a groom. The sepulchral chamber, in accordance with the general custom of pagan antiquity, was furnished, as if for the use of a living person, with silver jugs, drinking-cups, and other vessels for a banquet, and with bronze vases in which food had been stored up. One of these vases was found full of mutton-bones; and an earthen *amphora*, with the stamp of Thasos on the handle, showed that then, as now, the wines of the Archipelago were imported to the Crimea.

The lady interred in this tomb wore on her head a broad diadem of the pale gold called electrum, on which were embossed fantastic monsters and Greek floral ornaments. A necklace, composed of fine chains with pendants, and a tall collar embossed with figures and arabesques, both of gold, encircled her neck. Lying on her breast were found two large medallions representing the head of Athenè, whose helmet was ornamented with Sphinxes and Gryphons, as in the chryselephantine statue by Phidias. These medallions are in the form of pendants of earrings, but are too large to have been so worn. Near her feet was found a vase of electrum, ornamented with a frieze of Scythian warriors; one of whom, seated on the ground, is undergoing the operation of having a front tooth extracted. Some fragments of

ornamented wood-work, on which was painted a frieze of birds and chariots, were found near the female skeleton, and are supposed to be the remains of a catafalque over her bier. There were also many fragments of boxwood, on which were designs of exquisite beauty, drawn with the point. Among these compositions M. Stephani recognises the judgment of Paris.[217]

Equally rich were the ornaments of the principal male figure. The hoop of gold which had supported his tall cap was ornamented with Gryphons and arabesques; the ends of the torc of solid gold round his neck were fashioned in the form of two Scythian horsemen riding at each other; his bracelets terminated in two Sphinxes, modelled as none but a Greek goldsmith could model ("Antiq. du Bosphore," Pl. XIII. fig. 1). On his right arm was an armlet, ornamented with lions and warriors richly enamelled on the gold. At his left side were the remains of his sword, the hilt of which was plated with gold wrought with reliefs. In his leathern whip strands of fine gold wire had been intertwined. His other arms were a bow, the case of which was richly ornamented with lions, and a small round buckler, from which Gorgons' heads frowned defiance on his enemies. These two arms were of gold. In the tomb was found quite a little armoury of more ordinary weapons, among which were bronze arrowheads, so hard that the file made no impression on them. A hone for sharpening arms, made of a greenstone mounted in gold, was found near the principal figure. The floor of the tomb was strewn with buttons and embossed plates of gold, which had once ornamented garments; and in a second and lower tomb, the contents

of which, having been rifled clandestinely in the night, can never be known, it is said that even a larger quantity of gold was found.[218] The richness of the treasure and furniture deposited in the Koul Oba make it almost certain that one or more of the Greek royal Archons of the Bosporos was buried here with his queen, his horse, and probably his groom.

In a tomb opened at Paulovsköi Kourgan near Kertch in 1858, were found the remains of a young Greek lady. She had been attired in a garment richly embroidered, fragments of which still remained. It appears to have had a deep fringe, on which were wrought Amazons and arabesques, a fashion which we often see in figures in the later vase pictures. Her boots, made of fine leather and coming up to the calf, were perfectly preserved. Though it has been said that there is "nothing like leather," M. Stephani is probably right in his statement that this is the only pair of Greek ladies' boots which has survived to gratify the restless curiosity of the 19th century. It is evident from the size of these boots that the fair Pantikapæan had very small feet, and we have a right, on the *ex pede Herculem* principle, to assume that the rest of her person was delicately formed and finely proportioned. On her head she wore a gold *ampyx.* The bronze mirror, which she had so often consulted in life, accompanied her to the tomb. Her coffin, probably of cypress wood, had ornaments painted in red and gilt. A silver coin of Pantikapæon, found amid these remains, must have been the *naulon,* placed according to Greek custom in the mouth to pay the grim ferryman of the Styx. But the most precious object found in this tomb was an *amphora,*

on which is painted on one side the return of Persephonè from Hades; on the reverse the subject is Triptolemos, the mythic inventor of the plough, setting forth, under the auspices of Demeter, to till the soil of Attika—a legend peculiarly congenial to the corn-bearing region of the Bosporos. This beautiful vase is very similar in style to the celebrated Thetis vase from Kamiros in Rhodes, which has been already referred to.[219]

Near Nikopolis, on the right bank of the Dnieper, in the province of Ekaterinoslaf, a tomb was opened in 1862–63, which M. Stephani believes to be that of a Scythian king, buried with his queen and some of his retinue. In this tomb was a magnificent silver-gilt *amphora*, certainly the finest extant specimen of Greek *repoussé* work in silver. The body of this vase is richly ornamented with birds and floral arabesques; round the shoulder is a frieze of Scythians breaking in and grooming their horses ("Compte rendu," 1864, Pll. I. X.). The mouth of the vase is closed by a strainer, after percolating through which, the wine or other liquor poured into the *amphora* escaped through three spouts, projecting like gargoyles from the sides of the vase. Two of these are fashioned as lions' heads, the third as the head of a horse. We learn from the spirited composition of the frieze most curious details respecting the type and costume of the Scythians, and their breed of horses. In the same tomb was found a gold plate which, from its form, had evidently ornamented the *gorytos*, which served at once as bow-case and quiver for the Scythian, and is characteristic of a race whose life was chiefly passed in the saddle. On this gold plate are two mythological

compositions in relief in the finest style ("Compte rendu," 1864, Pl. IV.). That these reliefs are from the hand of an Athenian artist is probable, not only from the beauty of the design and execution, but also from the subject, in which M. Stephani recognises the Attic legend of Alopè, the daughter of the Eleusinian Kerkyon and the beloved of Theseus.

On another gold plate, which had ornamented the scabbard of a Scythian sword, the *akinakes* of the Medes and Persians, is a rich composition in relief, representing a combat between Greeks and Scythians ("Compte rendu," 1864, Pl. V.): The artist, probably an Athenian, has so arranged his groups as to leave the victory undecided, as if the desire to please his barbaric patron had not overcome the pride of race so justly cherished by the freeborn Hellene. Not less marvellous as a work of art is the handle of the royal sword, which is made of solid gold, terminating in two bulls' heads, back to back, and ornamented with hunting-scenes in relief, in which mounted Scythians are shooting the steinbock of the Caucasus.[220] On the fingers of the queen were ten gold rings, the hoops of which were not continuous, but open like bracelets to admit of elasticity.

Up to the year 1864 the researches made in the Asiatic part of the kingdom of Bosporos had not yielded much fruit, but in that year an excavation was made in the twin tumuli called Bliznitsa, in the peninsula of Taman. In one of these mounds was discovered in a vaulted chamber the remains of the richly attired lady whom M. Stephani believes to have been a priestess of Demeter. These remains were found lying in a wooden

coffin, which had been inlaid with figures in ivory, and ornamented with Ionic pilasters, the capitals of which had the eye of the volute inlaid with glass, as was the case also in the architecture of the Athenian Erechtheion.

The ornaments of the priestess formed a treasure rich and beautiful beyond description ; I must therefore refer the reader to the Plates in the "Compte rendu" for the year 1865, where he will see delineated the great *kalathos*, ornamented with a frieze, representing a battle of Scythians and Gryphons, which the priestess wore on her head ("Compte rendu," Pl. I.) ; the frontlet in which Stephani recognises the head-attire called by the Greeks *stlengis*, the immense earrings, the two exquisite necklaces, all of gold, and the bracelet of which the ends terminate in lions springing in antagonistic movement. The earrings resemble those of the queen buried in the Koul Oba, and consist of large medallions representing Thetis carrying the armour of Achilles on a dolphin, from which hangs an intricate net of chains and pendants. M. Stephani justly remarks that these earrings were much too large to have been worn in the ears, and must have been attached to the ends of the *kalathos*, and worn as pendants covering the ears. It is probable that these magnificent ornaments and the larger of the two necklaces were reserved by the priestess for the solemn functions and processions of the worship in which she officiated, as they were clearly quite unsuitable for the wear and tear of daily life. The gold sceptre and earrings from a tomb at Tarentum, now in the Gem Room of the British Museum, were probably also part of the state attire

of a priestess. In the tomb of the Pantikapæan lady must have been a whole wardrobe of sumptuous embroidered dresses, such as we find enumerated among the dedications to the Brauronian Artemis in a Treasure-list from the Athenian Akropolis.[221] Of these precious fabrics of ancient looms nothing remained in the tomb of the priestess but some hundreds of gold embossed plates, rosettes, and studs, among which busts of Demeter, Persephonè, and Herakles, heads of Medusa, Sphinxes, Gryphons, and other mythical subjects, occur abundantly.

Valuable evidence as to the age of these remains is afforded by the discovery of a gold coin of Alexander the Great, in very fine preservation, in the tomb of another lady buried side by side with the priestess.[222] This second tomb had been opened and plundered, but the rich architectural ornaments of the chamber remained, and here, on the covering-stone of the roof, was a painting, which is of surpassing interest, not only from its beauty, but because it is believed to be the oldest Greek mural painting, which has come down to us. It represents a female bust, her head surrounded by flowers. A coloured facsimile of this unique picture, on a reduced scale, forms the frontispiece to the "Compte rendu" for 1865.

It will be seen by reference to the Plates of the two Russian works to which I have already referred, that of the antiquities found in the tombs in the Crimea a large proportion belong to the period when Greek art was still in its bloom—say from B.C. 350 to B.C. 320. Some few objects may be ascribed to the earlier part of the fourth century B.C.; but, with the exception of a

single archaic vase found at Temir Gora, near Kertch ("Compte rendu," 1870–71, Plate IV.), none of the antiquities from these tombs can be considered earlier than the age of Pheidias.

The three principal classes under which these antiquities may be arranged are Fictile Vases, Jewellery, and other works in gold, silver, and bronze, and Gems. There are also Terracottas, remains of furniture inlaid with ivory and otherwise richly ornamented, and various other miscellaneous antiquities.

From the great care which has been taken by the Russian excavators to note, in every instance, what objects were found together in each tomb, and from the admirable exactness of the Plates and descriptions in the two Russian works already referred to, much light is thrown on the history of several branches of Greek art, respecting which our information up to the date of those Crimean discoveries was very imperfect. I shall endeavour in the following remarks to show how those several branches, and especially Fictile Art, Metallurgic Art (*Toreutikè*), and Gem-engraving, were developed contemporaneously in the fourth century B.C., and what characteristics they had in common.

To begin with Fictile Art. It is hardly necessary here to state that the interest of a Greek vase depends mainly on the picture with which it is adorned, and which was originally painted in black on a red ground, afterwards in red on a black ground. It is convenient to call both these primitive modes of painting monochromes, because, though other colours are sparingly introduced in the accessories, black or red constitutes the dominant colour of the figures. After a certain

perfection of drawing had been attained in the later of these two styles, that in which the figures are painted in red, a great innovation took place in Greek Ceramography. White and other colours were introduced into the picture, not, as heretofore, sparingly and in subordinate details, but so prominently as to attract the eye and challenge comparison with the red; and the accessories were picked out with gold. It is evident that this innovation was due to the general development of the art of painting, which was brought about by Zeuxis and Parrhasios in the fifth, and by Apollodoros and Pamphilos in the fourth century. Through the influence of these great masters, aerial perspective and chiaroscuro came to be more generally studied, and more complicated foreshortenings and groupings were introduced. At first the change only affected mural and easel painting, but it would not be long before the subordinate art of Ceramography became subject to the same influence.

Up to the age of Pheidias, and probably for nearly a century after his time, the vase-painters kept strictly within the limits imposed on them by the technical conditions under which they worked on fictile surfaces, and abstained, as a rule, in their designs from all combinations and groupings which could not be expressed without more chiaroscuro than was compatible with their simple monochrome outlines. Hence, in the earlier vases with red figures, we seldom see any part of the body foreshortened; and there is a marked preference for the profile view of the face, and for isolated figures rather than for groups where the limbs cross each other. It was probably about B.C. 350 that the

vase-painters began to adopt the new style of drawing introduced by the great contemporary masters, and it is worth noting, that about the same time we find much bolder foreshortenings introduced in sculpture in relief, as, for instance, in the frieze of the Mausoleum; and in contemporary coinages some of the finest specimens of the engraver are heads in full face, as, for instance, the silver coins of Syracuse with the heads of Arethusa and Athenè, those of Alexander of Pheræ, Amphipolis and Klazomenæ. So soon as the vase-painter began to introduce difficult foreshortenings and more intricate groups in his compositions, he was obliged, in order to make his design intelligible, to introduce more prominently colours which up to this time had been only applied to accessories, and thus it was that his style became polychrome instead of monochrome; and to heighten the effect he used gold, not as the mediæval painters used it, for a background, but to heighten the effect of subordinate details.

The new opaque colours and the gilding superadded to the original monochrome designs were much less permanent than the primitive red of the preceding style, and it is difficult in their present evanescent condition to judge of their original effect. It happens, however, that the British Museum possesses a specimen of this style, which, for beauty of composition and perfection of condition, is probably unsurpassed. I mean the vase found by Messrs. Biliotti and Salzmann in Kamiros, in Rhodes, which has been published by me with a Plate in the "Fine Arts Quarterly" of 1864.

The polychrome picture on the obverse of this precious vase represents a well-known incident in the myth

of Peleus and Thetis—the moment when Peleus, having succeeded in surprising the sea-goddess, seizes her in spite of her efforts to elude his grasp by sudden transformations.

The central figure in this composition, Thetis herself, is painted in opaque white, and the mantle which she is about to throw over her naked form is a kind of sea-green. Above her head flutters Eros, crowning Peleus with a diadem, the usual symbol of victory. This flying being has his body painted in opaque white, his wings are blue picked out with gold. The cap of Peleus is gilt, but his body, and that of the several subordinate female figures on each side of the central group, are painted red, with no gilding except on the necklaces and armlets.

By thus reserving the white colour for the two figures round whom the main interest of the subject centres (Thetis and Eros), the painter has given due prominence and emphasis to the principal group; and this brilliant mass of colour in the centre of the composition may be considered as a sort of foreground, which helps to send back the eye to the two subordinate figures in the distance. Here we see the rude and simple expedient by which, to atone for the want of aerial perspective, the vase-painters indicated the background of their compositions. Figures more distant from the eye are always represented seated or standing on a higher level than figures in the foreground. Turning from the Kamiros vase to the polychrome vases engraved in the "Compte rendu," we cannot fail to be struck with the remarkable resemblance, not only in the technical means employed, but also in the composition. I would

here particularly invite attention to the following: (1) The beautiful *amphora* which I have already mentioned, on which are two kindred subjects, Triptolemos sent forth by Demeter to till the ground, and the ascent from Hades of her daughter Korè, or Persephonè, and the youthful Iacchos; which latter subject probably typifies the self-renewal of vegetation in the spring, and is thus obviously connected with the subject of Triptolemos on the obverse ("Compte rendu," 1859, Pl. III.). (2) The *amphora* ("Compte rendu," 1865, Pl. IV.), of which the subject is Herakles killing a Centaur. This vase, which was found at Blitnitza, in the tomb of the priestess, is in the finest condition. Green colour appears on the garment of a female figure, and here, as on the Kamiros vase, Eros is represented with blue wings. (3) The *amphora* ("Compte rendu," 1860, Pl. II.), having on one side Zeus on his throne, Athenè, Nikè, and Hermes.

The vases here compared are *amphoræ* of that particular form to which some archæologists assign the name *Pelikè*; in the Plates of the "Compte rendu" will be found many other specimens of polychrome vases of different forms. I would particularly draw attention to the two circular vases of the kind called *Lekanè* ("Compte rendu," 1860, Pl. I., and 1861, Pl. I.). On the covers of both are painted exquisite groups of female figures engaged in their toilette, with Loves fluttering about them. The nude forms, which are drawn with wonderful mastery and refinement, are painted white, some of the garments blue or variegated, and the wings of the Cupids blue.

In connexion with the polychrome vase pictures I would here notice another class of polychrome vases,

which may be ascribed to the same period; those, namely, in which the composition was modelled on the vase instead of being coloured and gilt, or in which the vase itself was fashioned in some animal form more or less fantastic. The tombs near Kertch have produced two marvellous examples of this class. One of these is a vase inscribed with the name of the artist, Xenophantos, an Athenian ("Compte rendu," 1866, Pl. IV.), with a hunting-scene in relief. The figures, painted in several colours and gilt, are in Persian costume, with Persian names written over them. The other vase is a drinking-cup, fashioned in the form of a Sphinx ("Compte rendu," 1870–71, Pl. I.). This appears from M. Stephani's description to be a most exquisite work, and in the finest condition. The colour of the body is a rich white, which, in the neck and face, passes into flesh colour by delicate gradations, so as to show a faint blush in the cheeks. The lips are dark red, the iris of the eye dark blue. The hair and tail are gilt. The head is encircled with a *stephanè*, with gilt rosettes on a dark red ground. The wings are painted in transition shades of dark blue, light blue, and white. The ground on which the figure is seated is red. M. Stephani considers this to be the most beautiful representation of the Greek Sphinx which he has ever seen. The eyes, he remarks, have an indescribable charm, and the whole expression corresponds with the conception of the Sphinx as a being luring men to destruction by her fatal gift of beauty, which led the Greeks to liken her to those human Sirens, the *hetairæ*.

It is interesting to turn from this description of the Crimean Sphinx to an example of the same type in the British Museum. In the splendid collection of *rhytons*

recently purchased from M. Castellani is a drinking-cup, fashioned in the form of a Sphinx, which was found in a tomb at Capua. This, too, has the body painted white, the ornaments gilt. It is exquisitely modelled and in the finest condition, but the style is rather more severe than that of the Sphinx in the Ermitage, and presents slight traces of archaicism.[223]

Besides the vases which I have noticed are many others engraved in the "Compte rendu," for a notice of which I would refer the reader to the admirable memoir of the late Otto Jahn on polychrome and gilt vases.[224] That distinguished archæologist agrees with M. Stephani in considering these vases to be of Athenian fabric, and to have been exported to the Crimea, Rhodes, and other places with which Athens traded, in the fourth century B.C. This opinion is grounded on the following reasons: In Athenian tombs are often found vases with similar polychrome and gilded designs, though these are generally on a smaller scale and less magnificent in their ornaments, as might be expected in vases not intended for exportation but for home use. Again, one of the vases from the Crimea is inscribed, as I have stated, with the name of an Athenian artist, Xenophantos. Moreover, vases similiar in character have been found in the Kyrenaica, and the same class of tombs there yielded a remarkable series of Panathenaic *amphoræ*, which bear the names of Athenian archons, and can hardly, therefore, be the product of any but Attic potteries. The date of these Panathenaic *amphoræ*, fixed by the names of the archons inscribed upon them, ranges from B.C. 367 to B.C. 313.[225]

If we admit the polychrome vases to be probably

of Athenian origin, the next question is their date. I am inclined to think that this style reached its acme about B.C. 350, and that some of the finest specimens published in the "Compte rendu" may be of an earlier period, as M. Stephani believes. On the other hand, many of the smaller polychrome vases from Athens and Southern Italy are very inferior in their designs, and have a certain mannerism and effeminacy in the drawing, which belongs to the latter part of the fourth century B.C., when the decadence had commenced. This class of vases may for the most part, therefore, be assigned to the period between B.C. 350 and B.C. 300. If this date for the polychrome vases be admitted, we are justified in assuming that the greater part of the objects, such as terracottas, gold and silver vases, jewels, carvings in wood and ivory, which were found with them in the Crimean tombs, are of the same period. And here I must notice the great service which has been rendered to archæology by the Russian Government in entrusting these excavations to competent directors, who carefully registered the contents of each tomb; a record which, unfortunately, has been seldom kept when tombs are explored by private enterprise. In the "Compte rendu" we have, in the case of nearly every tomb, an exact description of all the objects found together; and the enlightened vigilance of a despotic government seems to have been very successful in preventing that dishonesty on the part of the workmen employed which all excavators know to be a source of great anxiety and risk whenever the *auri sacra fames* is awakened by the sudden discovery of treasure in a tomb.

The record of the Crimean discoveries given in the "Compte rendu" throws a new and welcome light on the history of ancient goldsmiths' work and jewellery, and also on that of gem-engraving. The personal ornaments found with the polychrome vases are certainly the finest specimens of ancient jewellery now extant. I have already noted some of the more striking objects, and it remains for me to point out the general characteristics of these ornaments. The gold is wrought with a delicacy which shows how well the artist understood its distinctive qualities of ductility, malleability, and incorruptibility; it is constantly inlaid with vitreous pastes, or enamels of various colours, but it is not so much the exquisite taste in the ornaments, or the delicate manipulation and incredible minuteness of the work, which calls for our admiration, as the consummate mastery of the modelling whenever *repoussé* work—the *toreutikè* of the Greeks—is used. I can best illustrate these remarks by reference to examples of ancient jewellery in the British Museum, which we may assign to the same age as the treasures of the Ermitage. The Melos necklace, and the sceptre from a tomb at Tarentum, are admirable specimens of that fine combination of filagree and vitreous enamels which characterises the Greek goldsmiths' art in the middle of the fourth century, and the bracelet and earrings from Capua, ornamented with lions' heads, are still more precious, as examples of *repoussé* work in its perfection.

Turning from these masterpieces of our own collection to the treasures of the Ermitage, we find (Pl. XII. *a* of the "Antiq. du Bosphore," and Pl. II. of the "Compte rendu" of 1865) two necklaces very similar in style to

the Melian one in the British Museum. In these necklaces are one or more rows of pendants hanging from fine intersecting chains.

The fertility of invention of the Greek jeweller is shown in nothing more than in the variety of beautiful forms given to the earrings. Of these the Ermitage possesses an unrivalled collection, presenting so many different types that a systematic classification of them would be difficult. I would, however, mention two kinds which occur more constantly than the rest—the earrings formed of twisted wire, terminating at one end in the head of a lion or other animal, and the earrings attached to the ear by a hook, which is masked by a round disk. This disk bears generally a full face in relief, or some other subject suitable for a medallion. From the disk hang one or more little figures, which form the pendants. The figure most frequently preferred for these pendants is the little God of love; sometimes holding a *phialè* and *oinochoè* in his hands, as if pouring a libation; sometimes playing on a musical instrument or unrolling a roll. Victories are also not unfrequently used as pendants. I have already noticed the magnificent earrings of this class found in the Koul Oba ("Antiq. du Bosphore," Pl. XIX.), in which the disk is ornamented with the head of Athenè, and those of the priestess ("Compte rendu," 1865, Pl. II.); both pairs are too large to have been worn except on solemn occasions, when they must have been suspended to the head-dress. I would also note as exquisite specimens the pair ("Compte rendu," 1870–71, Pl. VI. figs. 11, 12) composed of a rosette, from which hang three chains, the two outermost of which terminate in pendants; from the middle one hangs a goose, inlaid with granulated work

about the feathers. In the centre of the rosette is a garnet, from which radiate leaves in blue enamel forming a star pattern. Another variety of this type is given ("Compte rendu," 1868, Pl. I. figs. 1–3), in which the pendant is the goddess Artemis on a goat, with a torch in her right hand ; the whole is so finely wrought, that the cunning hand of the goldsmith has not forgotten to adorn this minute figure with a necklace, a chain, and earrings : but perhaps the *chef-d'œuvre* of these exquisite subtleties is the earring ("Antiq. du Bosphore," Pl. XII. *a.* fig. 5*a*), in which, below the disk, are two figures in a chariot with four horses, flanked by Victories, and below this group a crescent-shaped ornament, from which hang chains and pendant vases. The same combination of the crescent-shaped ornament is seen in the earring, Pl. XIX, fig. 4, of the "Antiq. du Bosphore." Of the two classes of earrings here noticed, those terminating in lions' heads seem rather earlier than those with disks and pendants. Good specimens of both classes may be seen in the Gem Room of the British Museum.

In these personal ornaments the main effect is due to the combination of small figures and flowers in *repoussé* work, with fine filagree, granulated patterns, and vitreous inlays. Garnets are sometimes introduced, but in the best age of Greek art the jeweller obtained varied effects by his perfect mastery over the gold itself, and made comparatively little use of such precious stones as were then known, except in rings. From the Crimean tombs we learn that the favourite form of signet-ring in the fourth century was a scarab or scaraboid, mounted in a gold swivel-ring, and having a subject in intaglio on the under side.

The collection of these in the Ermitage, which has been obtained from Greek tombs of the best period, furnishes a link in the history of gem-engraving which cannot be adequately supplied from other cabinets.

This lacune in the chronological sequence of gems is in some degree due to the fact that hitherto collections have been formed principally from Italian sources, and contain for the most part only archaic scarabs or gems of the Roman and late Macedonian periods.

The gems from the Crimean tombs, from the fact that the circumstances of their discovery have been truly recorded, and that they have never been tampered with by modern engravers, have a special value from their authenticity, as well as from the beauty of their work. So far as I can judge from the few engravings in the "Compte rendu," these intaglios are characterised by a grace and simplicity of treatment such as might be expected in the best age of Greek art. I would particularly draw attention to the celebrated gem ("Compte rendu," 1861, Pl. VI. fig. 10) on which a flying crane is cut in intaglio, with the name of the engraver, Dexamenos of Chios, inscribed over it, and the companion gem ("Compte rendu," 1865, Pl. III. fig. 40), on which the crane is represented, after the habit of these birds, standing on one leg, and the same name is inscribed. The signatures on gems are so liable to forgery, that these two inscriptions from their perfect authenticity are of special interest. Another charming design is the Aphroditè suckling Eros, on a gem, which has unfortunately suffered from fire ("Compte rendu," 1864, Pl. VI. fig. 1).

The more remarkable objects in *repoussé* work in the

precious metals which have been obtained from tombs in the Crimea have already been noticed in this memoir, and therefore I will only refer the student of art once more to the buckler and quiver cover, from the Koul Oba, the Sphinxes which terminate the armlet from the same tomb; the magnificent silver vase, with the frieze of Scythians taming horses, the gold scabbard, and the quiver, all from the tomb of a Scythian king, and the *kalathos*, which formed the head-attire of the priestess of Demeter, on which a battle between Scythians and Gryphons is represented in relief. Considering how liable *repoussé* work in gold is to be crushed in tombs, by the falling in of the roof and other accidents, it is marvellous that so many large works in this material should have been found in such fine condition. Of toreutic work in bronze these tombs seem to have yielded very little: at least, the only remarkable work in this metal, published by M. Stephani, is the relief on the mirror cover ("Compte rendu," 1865, Pl. v.), representing Aphroditè embracing Eros. This seems to be beautiful work, more severe in style than any of the goldsmiths' work, and therefore probably of an earlier period; but it is difficult to judge of the character of this bronze, because the Plate is too much a facsimile of mere surface.

I have now noticed the principal heads under which the varied contents of these Crimean tombs may be arranged; but here and there in the Plates of the two Russian works which I have cited we get glimpses of other branches of Greek art, of which our knowledge hitherto has been little more than mere conjecture. Thus all students of ancient art have read how, about

the middle of the fourth century B.C., Pamphilos, the great master of the Sikyonian school of painting, gave lessons in drawing on boxwood; but no such drawings had been seen by modern eyes till the discovery of the Koul Oba, where, as I have mentioned, fragments of an exquisite composition, graven in outline on boxwood, were found. (See "Antiq. du Bosphore," Pl. LXXIX.). Again, there are some tantalizing notices of the lost works of the Greek painters in Pliny, and other ancient writers, but it has been reserved for Russian explorers to reveal to us what is believed to be an unique specimen of Greek mural painting in the fourth century B.C.; the female bust, surrounded by flowers, all painted in the natural colours on blue ground, a reduced facsimile of which forms the frontispiece to the "Compte rendu" for 1865. Greek furniture, again, has been only hitherto known to us through the representations of scenes of domestic life on vases, but in the Crimean tombs have been found many precious fragments, showing how ivory inlays, gilding, and colour, were applied for the decoration of wood. (See "Antiq. du Bosphore," Pll. LXXXI.-IV., "Compte rendu," 1866, Pll. I. II.).

In the foregoing remarks I have drawn attention only to the more beautiful and interesting objects in the collection of the Ermitage, without noticing the many rare and curious antiquities, of inferior merit as works of art, and evidently of later date, which are engraved in the two great Russian works here referred to. If, in studying these volumes, we confine our attention to those exquisite works of art which M. Stephani—justly, as it seems to me—assigns to the fourth century B.C., and to an Athenian source, we shall find in them

characteristics due, as it would seem, to the influence of two contemporary schools, which, with much in common, had, in the judgment of ancient critics, essential differences. Throughout the Crimean antiquities here noticed, whether vases, terracottas, gems, or toreutic work, may be discerned the same perfect mastery of execution, the same refined taste, the same tempered luxury of ornament and self-contained richness of fancy, ever on the verge of the extravagant, but ever stopping short of it, as if restrained by some secret inner sense; but amid these common characteristics we may recognise differences in choice and treatment of subject which seem due to the influence of distinct, though not antagonistic, schools. Thus the great silver vase from the tomb near Nikopolis, with its frieze and projecting heads; the battle-scenes wrought in bold relief on the quiver and scabbard from the same tomb; the lions' heads, so nobly adapted as the general ornament of torcs and bracelets; the representations, in a word, of war and of animal life which so constantly recur in the works in metal from Crimean tombs, remind us of the characteristics of the school of Skopas, as we know them in the sculptures of the Mausoleum; while in the vases, the terracottas, and many of the smaller jewels, we seem to recognise that tender pathos of expression, that beauty of form, refined but not effeminate, appealing to the senses but not meretricious, which we believe to have been the attributes of the other great Athenian sculptor, Praxiteles, and which the painters, his contemporaries, probably shared with him.

THE BRONZE HEAD IN THE CASTELLANI COLLECTION.*

About this time last year the House of Commons, with a wise liberality, completed the purchase of the celebrated collection of gold ornaments and gems formed by Signor Alessandro Castellani. Another collection, of works not in the precious metals, but in marble, bronze, terracotta, and glass, accumulated during years of unwearied zeal and keen enterprise, and chosen with consummate judgment, is again offered by Signor Castellani to this country, and the greater part of it is now to be seen in the British Museum.

It is not our present purpose to give a general notice of this collection, which cannot be duly appreciated till the remainder of it has arrived in this country, and has been properly exhibited. But it contains one work of art of such transcendent merit that the attention of the public cannot be too soon or too strongly called to it. We mean the bronze head of a Greek goddess, said to have been found somewhere in Armenia. This head is of heroic size, and has evidently belonged to a statue from which it has been torn away. The back of the

* *Times*, April 10, 1873.

head has been wrenched off, a blow has depressed the hair over the brow, and only the front of the neck has been preserved. But, by a good fortune which rarely attends ancient bronzes, the face has escaped with very little injury, and the nose and mouth are absolutely intact.[226]

Of the eyes nothing now remains but the deep cavernous sockets from which once flashed the light of precious stones or enamels. But, though the eyes are thus represented not positively by lustre, but negatively, by deep shadow, this want is hardly felt when we look at the face, such is its transcendent charm. Those who have studied Greek art feel at once that we have here one of those finely balanced ideal types in which the ancient sculptor sought to blend superhuman majesty and superhuman faultlessness of proportion, with a beauty so real and lifelike that the whole conception of the work is kept as it were within the pale of human sympathy, and the religious impression, which was the main purpose of Greek art, is enhanced, not impaired, by the sensuous charm. The first impression, in short, produced by this bronze head is that of majestic godlike beauty, simple, but not too severe, with just enough of expression to give the face a human interest, and make us feel that the conception is a product of a human imagination inspired by a divine theme, of a mortal striving to body forth his idea of the immortal.

It is hard to define the subtleties of Greek art, veiled as they are by a seeming simplicity which is for ever eluding the analysis it invites and challenges. But it may make our meaning clearer if we add that a very little more expression would have made this head less

divine, and given it more of the characteristics of what has been called the Pathetic or later school of Greek sculpture, while, on the other hand, a very little less expression might have converted it into a cold, tame, lifeless ideal, such as the uninspired artist or rather mechanic of later times made by rule and compass to the order of his Roman master.

When we look to the means through which the subtle beauty of this head has been wrought with such marvellous success, we find that largeness and simplicity of style which characterizes the best age of Greek art, but which was only maintained for about a century. This largeness of style is the result of that long and profound study of nature which teaches the artist how to select and to give due prominence to the parts which are essential to the main idea, every detail not so essential being subordinated, or, if necessary, omitted.

This style we see in its perfection in the works of Pheidias, as we know them in the remains of the Parthenon, but up to this date we have looked in vain in the museums of Europe for a cardinal example of the same style in bronze. The reason for this is obvious. Bronze decays under influences which do not affect marble, and the intrinsic value of this metal has caused thousands of statues to be melted down, which, had they been in marble, might have been disinterred, and even reconstructed out of many fragments like the statue of Mausolos. Thus the great works in bronze of Pheidias and Scopas, fused in the mints of barbaric conquerors, must have furnished the coin by which their mercenaries were paid, and, for aught we know, may still be circulating in the copper currencies of the Eastern world.

The disappearance of the Greek masterpieces in bronze is almost as much to be deplored as the loss of their paintings. Neither the bronzes of Herculaneum nor the Roman copies in marble of bronze *chefs-d'œuvre* which may here and there be detected in sculpture galleries have as yet given us more than a feeble and inadequate idea of those "*spirantia æra*" which, as the candid Virgil admits, it was the special gift and prerogative of the Greeks to make, and we have had to imagine what the style of bronze statuary in the great age was like, by the study of Greek coins, and of a few precious relics of *repoussé* work, such as the bronzes of Siris.

Therefore it is that the Castellani bronze head has such surpassing interest. It comes nearer to our conception of the work of a great master than any bronze yet discovered; we learn from it more than from any other extant bronze what perfect mastery the ancient sculptor attained over this material, how in his plastic hands it became as clay in the hand of the potter, so that in gazing at the form we forget the material and the absence of colour, and think only of the life which a master spirit has evoked out of the ductile metal.

GREEK NUMISMATICS.*

I.

It is now nearly a century since Eckhel in his *Doctrina Numorum Veterum* traced with a master-hand the outlines of numismatics so far as regards the ancient world. This great work was a complete digest of all that had been written on the subject of Greek and Roman coins up to Eckhel's time ; but since its publication the study of ancient numismatics has been greatly developed, not only by the discovery of many new coins, but by a prolific crop of treatises to which these discoveries have given rise. The time seems now to have come for a second Eckhel to arise ; some one with sufficient judgment, learning, and industry to extract the pith out of these various treatises, and to work them into a new digest embodying all the most recent results of numismatic discovery.

Why this task, which seems so suitable to the omnivorous activity of Germany, has not yet been accomplished, or even attempted, it is not easy to explain ; but doubtless one principal impediment to the

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* "A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum—Italy. 1873." *Saturday Review*, August 16, 1873.

study of ancient numismatics is the want of catalogues of the great public collections, except such as are now comparatively obsolete. Up to this year, for instance, all the published information with regard to the magnificent collection of Greek and Roman coins in the British Museum (if we except stray memoirs and notices) was comprised in the Catalogues by Taylor Combe and R. P. Knight, of which the respective dates are 1814 and 1830, and which embrace not above a fifth part of the collection as it now is. It is therefore with great satisfaction that we note that the Department of Coins is at length making an effort to redeem these long arrears. The first volume of a general catalogue of the Greek coins in the Museum by Mr. Poole, has appeared, and a second volume is promised shortly.

Eckhel, in his *Doctrina*, adopts a geographical arrangement of his subject, traversing the Mediterranean from West to East. The fault of this arrangement is that the semi-barbarous coins of Spain and Gaul, where Greek civilization was only sporadic and comparatively recent, are presented to the student before he has been introduced to the true sources of Greek numismatic art. The arrangement adopted in the Museum Catalogue is preferable, inasmuch as the series begins with Italy, to be followed by Sicily; two countries in which the history of Greek numismatics from a very early period of their civilization, can be traced with greater exactness and continuity than in any other part of the Hellenic world. In the volume before us the coins of Italy are all classed under the general heading "Greek"; but it would be more exact to distinguish in this class the coins of pure Hellenic settlements from others in which Etruscan,

Oscan, or Roman influence is so apparent both in the art and the weight and standard, that these coins may be roughly divided into Greek and Græco-Italian. If we draw a line across Italy from the mouth of the Vulturnus on the west coast to that of the Aufidus on the Adriatic, it will be found that nearly all the early colonies founded by the Greeks in Italy lie south of this line. The centre of Italo-Greek civilization is the fringe of shore between Tarentum and Rhegium, known in antiquity as Magna Græcia, and now comprising part of Calabria and the Abruzzi. It was in this fertile and genial region that Greek numismatic art began to develop itself from a very early period. The principal settlements on this coast, such as Tarentum, Metapontum, Sybaris, Kroton, were founded at various dates ranging from B.C. 750 to B.C. 650, and it is probable that the colonists brought with them the then newly invented art of coining money. Hence the archaic coins of the cities of Magna Græcia have a peculiar historical interest, especially when, as in the case of Sybaris, the known date of the destruction of the city and the consequent change of name enable us to fix the date of its coins with certainty to the period between B.C. 720 and B.C. 510. The coins, again, of Siris must have been struck in the same period, as its destruction preceded that of Sybaris. The archaic coins of Magna Græcia have a local peculiarity of fabric which distinguishes them from the other early coinages of Hellas. They are struck, not on lumps or nuggets, like the early gold coins of Lydia and the silver coins of Athens or Ægina, but on thin discs, the type being raised in relief on one side and repeated in intaglio, or, as numismatists say, *incuse*

on the other. This local peculiarity of fabric points to some early confederation of the cities that adopted it. In some few instances the types of two cities are combined on the same coin, in token of an alliance. As art advanced the incuse repetition fell into disuse, and a type in relief was substituted for it. This change probably took place about the beginning of the fifth century B.C., in the course of which the Confederacy of Achæan cities was ruined by an invasion of the Lucanians. Some of these types are of peculiar interest as archaic representations of deities, in some cases perhaps actually copied from statues. Thus, on the coins of Poseidonia (better known to tourists under its Roman name, Pæstum) we find Poseidon; Tarentum commemorates its mythic founder, Taras; and on coins of Kaulonia is a male deity, probably Apollo, holding a little running figure in his hand, a type the interpretation of which has perplexed numismatists.

As Greek art matures, it is interesting to trace its stages in the coins of the cities of Magna Græcia, whose civilization, somewhat prematurely developed, seems to have reached its highest point a little before the Persian war. In forming an estimate of the relative political importance, wealth, and refinement of these cities, coins furnish some valuable evidence in supplement to the scanty notices in ancient history. Thus we learn from the Catalogue before us that the British Museum possesses 441 silver coins of Tarentum, 140 of Neapolis, 162 of Metapontum, 123 of Thurium, 116 of Velia, 108 of Kroton. Of gold coins, Tarentum has thirty-two, Metapontum one; but the Catalogue assigns no gold coins to any other city in Magna Græcia. These

numismatic statistics are borne out by history. We know that Tarentum and Metapontum were cities of great power and wealth from the first, and that they retained their political importance after most of the other cities of Magna Græcia had succumbed either to the Sicilian Dionysios, or to the inroads of ruder Italian races. The gold coinage of Tarentum is evidence of its wealth, which it owed partly to the richness of its products, both terrestrial and marine, but still more to the excellence of its landlocked harbour, and to the convenience of its situation as an *entrepôt* for the commerce of Greece and Egypt. The Tarentines were celebrated for their breed of horses, and in the art of the *manége* their skill was proverbial. On the splendid series of their coins in the British Museum we see the type of the Tarentine horseman repeated with a vivacity and endless felicity of invention almost worthy of the frieze of the Parthenon. In the execution of these coins there is an elaborate refinement reminding us of the art of the gem-engraver. The best of them were probably struck not long before the time of Alexander the Great.

We can only glance here at the coinages of the other cities of Magna Græcia, among which will be found some exquisite specimens of numismatic art, especially at Terina, Kroton, and Thurium. It is at Terina more than anywhere in Italy that we get on the coins that freshness and simplicity in the design which we usually associate with the school of Pheidias. The coins of Heraklea, Neapolis, and Velia are later; their style is more effeminate and mannered, like that of the later fictile vases and terracottas of Southern Italy. The abundant coinage of Metapontum is deficient in variety

of types. The predominant subject is a wheat ear, a symbol of that fertility which led the Metapontines to dedicate a golden sheaf at Delphi.

Of far less interest are the coinages which we have designated as Græco-Italian. The principal classes comprised under this head are the copper coins commonly known as *æs grave*, struck in Etruria, Umbria, Latium, and other provinces of Central Italy, and the Græco-Roman coins of Campania, Apulia, Samnium, and Frentani. Under this head may be classed the coins with Samnite or with Oscan inscriptions, which occur here and there in Campania, Apulia, Samnium, and Frentani. Most, if not all, Græco-Italian coins (whether *æs grave* or Græco-Roman) were probably struck after B.C 300, as the Romans began to extend their empire into Etruria and Campania. The system of the weight of these coins has been very thoroughly investigated by Mommsen, whose theory is generally followed in this Catalogue. It was the characteristic of the indigenous races of Italy from very early times to employ copper, a metal which abounded on their soil, rather than gold and silver, as the instrument of commercial exchange. Hence the word *æstimo* originally expressed the worth of anything in copper. At first bars or lumps of this metal, *æs rude*, were used. It is not till B.C. 450, three centuries after the founding of Rome, that we get any evidence of the use of coined money, *æs signatum*, at Rome. This was probably introduced by the Decemvirs, in whose laws fines are ordered to be paid in coin. The coined copper money of the non-Hellenic races of Italy consisted of the *as* (originally equal to a pound of copper), and its subdivisions down to the ounce, *uncia*, and onwards.

All this money is known as *æs grave*—*i.e.* money which was reckoned, not by tale, but by weight. The specimens which have come down to us are nearly all probably as late as B.C. 350, when the *as* was greatly reduced in weight. As instruments of traffic nothing can be clumsier than these great lumps of metal, and as works of art they present a painful contrast to the beautiful coinages of Magna Græcia. The Museum has a very fine series of *æs grave* from Etruria, Umbria, and Central Italy, including some of the curious oblong ingots of great weight, which, though their form suggests a primitive origin, have no claim to a higher antiquity than the rest of the *æs grave*. These copper coins are cast, not struck. As the commercial intercourse between the Greek colonies of Magna Græcia and Sicily and the non-Hellenic races of Italy extended, it was necessary for the Greeks to adjust their standard based on a silver currency to the Italian standard based on a copper currency, and how this was done has been traced by Mommsen with great skill in the coinage of certain Greek cities, principally in Campania and Apulia. But this is too intricate a subject to be dealt with here; ample materials for its study are to be found in Mr. Poole's Catalogue.

In the survey of Italian numismatics the question naturally presents itself, Had the great Etruscan cities in the time of their independence a regular silver currency, such as we find from a very early period throughout the Hellenic world? The only silver coins of Etruscan cities known to numismatists are the curious series from Populonia, struck only on one side, of which the Museum possesses twenty-six, and a very few quaint

varieties struck by unknown Etrurian mints, of which we find only six in the Catalogue before us, one being evidently a very ancient coin. It seems probable from these statistics that a silver coinage was adopted by the Etruscans only in those maritime cities where commercial intercourse with the Greeks made such a currency convenient, and where Greek settlers formed an integral part of the population. Mommsen thinks that the coinage of Populonia may have been derived from that of Athens, with which city the Etruscans had very early commercial relations.

We have given here a sketch of the numismatics of ancient Italy, the correctness of which can be best tested by the study of such a Catalogue as we have before us, in which the classification according to mints and types has evidently been made with great care, and in which the tabular arrangement gives greater facility of reference than the arrangement in Mionnet's *Recueil.* The spaces allotted for the description of the coin are, however, too narrow for perspicuity; and it is to be hoped that this fault will be remedied in future volumes. The text is illustrated with fairly executed woodcuts of certain coins, not previously engraved; references in other cases being made to the *Museo Kircheriano* and to Carelli's Plates. But looking over the volume, we observe a certain capriciousness in the selection of the coins to be engraved which it is not easy to account for. Why, for instance, should we have not one cut of the beautiful coins of Thurium or of the interesting archaic coins of Kaulonia, Siris, Sybaris, etc.? It would have been better to have limited the cuts to the principal types and to very rare and unedited coins.

In this Catalogue the description of the coin is not accompanied by any commentary. This we think is wise—*bis dat qui cito dat.* It is something to have given us here an accurate classification and description of nearly four thousand coins of Italy. To write a sufficient commentary on these would be a work of years; and this is not so specially the function of the Keeper of a Museum as to print catalogues of what he has in his charge. But it must not be forgotten that a really scientific catalogue can only be made by bringing to bear on it the accumulated knowledge of a life devoted to a special study; and what renders the labour of cataloguing somewhat distasteful to all except those who are altogether destitute of literary ambition is the feeling that this knowledge is latent in their work, and that its recognition, like that of the labours of lexicographers, is apt to be tardy and scant. For the due advancement of the study of ancient numismatics, as indeed of every other branch of archæology, we want not only scientific catalogues, but popular treatises based on such works.

GREEK NUMISMATICS.*

II.

It is now three years since the Trustees of the British Museum published the first instalment of a General Catalogue of Greek Coins in the form of a volume on the coins of Italy. We are glad to see the second volume, which contains Sicily, following so soon on its predecessor, for the task which lies before the learned editor of this Catalogue and his colleagues is no small one. If we follow the original scheme of the founder of Greek numismatics, Eckhel, that science must comprise not only all the coins struck by autonomous Greek States and Kingdoms bordering on the Mediterranean and Black Sea, but all the barbaric and mixo-barbaric coinages imitated from Greek prototypes beyond the pillars of Hercules on the West and as far as the Indus on the East. And, even if we exclude from the system of Greek numismatics such "outside barbarians" as Britons, Gauls, Iberians, and Indo-Scythians, the number

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* "A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum—Sicily." Edited by Reginald Stuart Poole. London, 1876. *Times*, July 11, 1876.

of coins in the British Museum which would still remain to be catalogued under the category "Greek" may be computed roughly as not less than 40,000.

It would seem at first sight that in a general Catalogue of Greek coins, those ancient seats of Hellenic civilization in Asia Minor and Greece Proper where coinage is believed to have been originally invented should come first in order of publication, rather than the later settlements of Magna Græcia and Sicily. But there is ample justification of the order adopted by Mr. Poole in the fact that it is in the coinages of Magna Græcia, and still more of Sicily, that we can best study Greek numismatics as a whole. It is the unbroken continuity of such a series as the coinage of Syracuse, extending from the latter part of the sixth century B.C. to the conquest of Sicily by the Romans, B.C. 212, that enables us to follow the history of numismatic art through all its phases, and to learn the changes of style characteristic of each successive half-century, and when we have traced out this history at Syracuse, we obtain certain criteria capable of general application, not only to the coinage of Sicily, but to numismatic art throughout the Hellenic world.

In the volume before us the coins of Syracuse, upwards of 700 in number, are arranged chronologically with great care. The evidence on which this classification is grounded cannot, of course, be given in a catalogue which limits itself to the bare description of each coin, but it is admirably summed up by one of Mr. Poole's *collaborateurs* (Mr. Head) in a separate memoir on the coinage of Syracuse, published in 1874.[227] The general outlines of this arrangement may be thus stated: There

is a very rare archaic silver coin of Syracuse, equivalent in value to ten drachmæ, which has long been recognised by numismatists as the Demareteion, a *pièce de luxe* struck, as ancient authors tell us, by Gelon the First after his great victory over the Carthaginians and out of the proceeds of a present made to his wife Demaratè by the vanquished foe. The date of these decadrachms must be about B.C. 479, and, consequently, all the Syracusan coins which show a more archaic style may be referred to an antecedent period. Again, certain later decadrachms, popularly known as medallions of Syracuse, and which rank among the most splendid and sumptuous specimens of numismatic art, have been attributed on good grounds to the reign of the elder Dionysios and his immediate successors. The restoration of democracy at Syracuse by Timoleon is a momentous epoch, and we find it commemorated by the introduction of the well-known Corinthian types, the helmeted head of Athenè and the Pegasos, on the contemporary coinage of Syracuse. After B.C. 317, the date of the usurpation of Agathocles, the classification of Syracusan coins is an easy matter, because his successors, Hiketas, the Epirote Pyrrhos, Hieron II., and Hieronymos, all marked the period of their domination by inscribing their names on the coinage. This chronological sequence may be said to close with the taking of Syracuse by Marcellus, B.C. 212. Henceforth the coinage dwindles away under the blighting influence of the Roman Prætors who plundered and misgoverned Sicily. Up to the date of this conquest Syracuse had been unquestionably the first city in Sicily through several centuries, and it is, therefore, not surprising that in

number, in variety of type, and in beauty, its coins surpass those of all other Sicilian Mints.

The cities which at one time rivalled or ranked next to Syracuse in wealth and power were Agrigentum, Kamarina, Katana, Selinus, Segesta, Messana, Gela, Leontini, Naxos, Himera—most of them early Doric settlements on the southern or eastern coast of the island. In the coinages of these cities we find numismatic art advancing *pari passu* with that of Syracuse up to a certain date; there is the same gradual transition from the archaic to the perfect style. But, once arrived at maturity, this art, instead of passing through the subsequent stages of decline as at Syracuse, seems to cease abruptly. It is as if the year, after the normal succession of seasons in its first six months, were to come to a sudden close at midsummer.

The causes of this untimely blight, which arrested the development of Sicilian art and withered the fair fruit with which so many mints were teeming, are plainly seen by reference to the history of the island between B.C. 480 and the first years of the succeeding century. It was at the first of these dates that Gelon obtained his famous victory over the Carthaginians at Himera by which their power in Sicily was shattered for more than half a century. It was not till the close of the same century that the Sicilian Greeks had to encounter another Carthaginian invasion. The results of this invasion were most disastrous to the flourishing cities of the southern coast. First fell Selinus, then Himera, Agrigentum, Gela, Kamarina, Messana—all of which were taken by the Carthaginians between B.C. 409 and B.C. 396, while about the same period Naxos, Katana,

and Leontini were ruthlessly destroyed by Dionysios of Syracuse. None of these cities ever regained the prosperity and power which had been developed after the victory of Gelon, when for more than fifty years they remained unmolested by their Carthaginian neighbours. Hence it is that their mints, so prolific of fine coins in the fifth century B.C., are so barren in the subsequent period, while, on the other hand, in the coinage of Syracuse there is no such interruption of continuity.

Having thus fixed within certain historical limits the dates of issue of the finest examples of Sicilian numismatic art, we are enabled, by a comparison of the contemporary coins of Agrigentum, Kamarina, Katana, and the other cities we have named, to trace the steps by which this art passed out of archaic constraint and *gaucherie* into noble simplicity and grace; we see how the lines of the composition become gradually more flowing and the representation of organic form and living action more subtle and intelligent. All these states of transition can be traced by studying Sicilian coins in the order in which they are presented in this catalogue, and the chief criteria by which the successive changes of style may be recognized have been very clearly stated by Mr. Percy Gardner, in his recent "Sicilian Studies,"[228] a little memoir which exhibits a rare combination of patient industry with keen critical acumen.

When we turn from Sicilian coins to the produce of Hellenic mints in Greece and its early Colonies in Magna Græcia, Asia, and Africa, we find that the development of numismatic art, so clearly and continuously traceable in Sicily, proceeded within the same limits of time through-

out the Hellenic world, and that the successive phases of this development correspond very nearly in character and in date with the phases through which Greek sculpture and painting passed during the same period. In other words, the history of numismatic art is an essential part of the General History of Ancient Art. Without the evidence of coins it may be doubted whether that great archæologist, Ottfried Müller, would ever have conceived so clearly the idea of Greek art as a whole. Since his day the discovery of so many examples of sculpture which are either antecedent or subsequent in date to the Parthenon has done much to connect what were once isolated phenomena, and to fill up the gaps which interrupt chronological sequence, but in proportion as these revelations shed new light on the history of sculpture and painting, the illustration afforded by coins becomes more valuable than ever.

Thus, if we compare the sculptures of the Xanthian Harpy tomb in the British Museum, those from Thasos in the Louvre, and the Eleusinian relief in the new Museum at Athens, we may trace very clearly the gradual progress of art from the archaic period to the matured school of Pheidias; but the stages of this advance are much more clearly seen, if, by way of collateral illustration, we study the early coins of Syracuse, Selinus, Kamarina, Katana, and other Sicilian cities in their order of production as determined by numismatic science. Many other cases might be adduced in which that which once seemed to the student of Greek art an isolated and obscure phenomenon is now, through the cumulative evidence of coins, recognised as the result of certain tendencies

operating simultaneously wherever Hellenic civilization had attained a certain strength and maturity.

The geographical and chronological arrangement of Greek coins is only a small part of the work of a numismatist. He has to decipher and interpret the legend, and what in numismatic language is called the type of each coin—that is, the figure or symbol which forms its device; and, as the evidence on which such interpretation depends ranges from almost mathematical certainty to the faintest probability, there is a constant tendency to drift into wild conjecture, unless a severe and sober-minded method of inquiry is pursued. Hence the value of collections which are at once large and choice, and in which types, of which elsewhere we find only single specimens, are presented to us as a connected series.

In a catalogue like the one before us the types of coins are generally arranged with special reference to their interpretation and in an order which facilitates and suggests induction. Such pioneering labour will open up the study of coins to archæologists generally, and we would here draw attention to a memoir by Mr. Poole on the coins of Kamarina, published some time since in the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature," and to a more recent memoir in the same periodical by his colleague, Mr. Gardner, on Greek River Worship.[229] Both these essays are largely based on inductions derived from the study of the coins of Sicily, and such inductions when they dawn upon the mind gradually out of the twilight of minute and painful observation of details are more to be relied on than the hypotheses of those who prefer *à priori* speculations to the humbler task of catalogue making.

One of the most conspicuous and frequent types on the silver coins of Sicily is a chariot with four horses, generally driven at full speed and associated with a winged figure of Victory, who is represented flying over the horses and crowning the charioteer and occasionally the horses themselves. This type we find at Syracuse, Agrigentum, Kamarina, Katana, and in nearly all the principal Greek cities of Sicily. It is highly probable, as Mr. Poole has argued in the memoir already referred to, that this constantly recurring chariot group commemorates in most cases an Olympic victory, gained either by the city which struck the coins or by its ruler. The earliest of these Sicilian victors at Olympia of whom we have historical record is Gelon I. In B.C. 488, while he was still ruler of Gela, he conquered in the chariot race. Three years after this he became master of Syracuse, and it is probable that certain early coins of both these cities on which the chariot type occurs commemorate his Olympic victory. Such victories were so great a distinction, both for the individual who won them and for the city to which he belonged, that an Agonistic type once adopted would probably be continued till some great political revolution or other public event caused a break in the old associations of a people. Accordingly, we find that in the Syracusan Mint the Agonistic type was maintained from Gelon I., B.C. 485, to Hiero II., B.C. 216, with occasional interruptions, due to such political changes as the rule of Timoleon, the victories of Agathokles, or the temporary ascendancy of the Epirote Pyrrhos. By the study of these Agonistic types we may trace the progress of art with curious minuteness. At first there is great difficulty in representing in a side view the four

horses of the *quadriga*. The more distant horses are very imperfectly indicated by doubling the outlines of the nearer horses and adding a spare leg or two. The Victory who crowns the charioteer flies more feebly and awkwardly than a bat in broad daylight, if, indeed, such mere wing-flapping can be called flight at all. Gradually the composition improves as technical skill advances, till the full maturity of art is attained at the close of the fifth century B.C. On those grand silver medallions which are attributed to the reign of Dionysios the Elder, the four horses bound along in skilfully contrasted action, so composed as to enable the eye at once to discriminate each horse from its fellows, and at the same time to take in the complicated group as a rhythmical whole, in which the controlling skill of the charioteer has blended the discordant plunges of his fiery team into a harmonious concord. This felicitous composition depends mainly on the bold use of foreshortening, an innovation in sculpture in relief which was but sparingly used in the age of Pheidias, but which, in the succeeding century, was carried much further, as we see in the Mausoleum frieze. On the coins of the Dionysian periods there seems, in some of the Agonistic types, an intention to suggest by such accessories as a broken wheel, a fallen *meta*, or a flying rein, the casual disorder which was not unfrequent on the Hellenic racecourse, and which is so graphically described in the "Elektra" of Sophocles. It has been ingeniously suggested that these details commemorate that Olympic contest in which the chariots of Dionysios were upset and broken, either by misadventure or in the course of the strong popular excitement against the

Sicilian tyrant which was roused by the Olympic harangue of the orator Lysias. If, turning from these noble examples of imaginative design, we trace the Agonistic type downwards through the subsequent coinage of Syracuse, we see how rapid was the decline of Greek art in the third century B.C. The *quadriga* on the coins of Philistis is a tame, spiritless composition, in which the monotonous parallelism of the horses' legs recalls the prosaic and stammering utterance of Archaic art when striving to express organic life.

Next in interest to the Agonistic types of Sicilian Mints are what may be called the Fluvial types, under which that main source of the fertility of Sicily—its springs and rivers—was represented. The Fluvial types in early Greek art may be ranged in three classes—the *tauriform* type, in which the River God is represented as a bull, as on the coins of Sybaris and Thurium; the *androtauric* type, in which the Fluvial bull has a human face, as on the coins of Gela and Katana; and the *human* type, in which the River God appears either as a youth or a bearded man, generally distinguished by small budding horns on the forehead, as on the coins of Gela, Agrigentum, and Selinus. On the coins of Kamarina, the local river, Hipparis, appears as a youthful horned head, encircled by rippling waves. These waves represent a small lake through which this river flows, and which, on the reverse of the same coins, is typified as a female figure sailing on a swan, below which are waves, and above, a dolphin. On the coins of Selinus, the local River God, who took his name from the city, is offering a libation at the altar of Asklepios, here indicated by his well-known symbol—the cock; on the

reverse, Apollo, in a chariot driven by Artemis, shoots an arrow from his bow. The meaning of these associated types is to be found in the story related by Diogenes Laertios, that the people of Selinus suffered from pestilence till a neighbouring marsh was drained by the engineering skill of Empedokles. Here, as in the Iliad, Apollo inflicts the pestilence; the libation which the River God offers to Asklepios may be interpreted as a figurative mode of recording the drainage of the marsh, which seems to be further alluded to on one of these coins by the introduction of a marsh bird as an adjunct. On an exquisite coin of Syracuse the fountain Arethusa is represented by a female head, full face, whose flowing locks suggest, though they do not directly imitate, the bubbling action of the fresh water spring which rises in the sea, here typified by the dolphins which sport round the head of the Nymph.

The tendency to symbolize local features in the types of coins is more strongly marked and more easy of recognition in Sicily during the finest period of art than elsewhere in the Hellenic world. Thus, in addition to the fluvial and aquatic types, already referred to, we have hot mineral springs at Thermæ symbolized by water flowing through a lion's mouth; the parsley leaf on the coins of Selinus refers to the plant which grows so abundantly on that site as to give its name to the city. On the coins of Zanklè we find the sickle-shaped harbour which travellers in the Mediterranean know under its modern name Messina, but which, in the language of the Sikels, was called from its form, Zanklè, "the sickle." In the beautiful head of a goddess encircled by dolphins on the coins of

Syracuse, we probably have a symbol of the sea-girt Ortygia, the original nucleus of the Greek colony and the stronghold of Dionysios. One of the finest compositions in Sicilian art is the group of two eagles devouring a hare, on the coins of Agrigentum. If we take this type in connection with the worship of Zeus Atabyrios which the Agrigentines inherited from their Rhodian ancestors, it seems not unlikely that the eagle type symbolizes one or both of the two lofty peaks which form the ancient citadel of Agrigentum, and on the highest of which stood the temple of Zeus Atabyrios. In that case the crab and fish which so constantly recur on these coins as the type of the reverse may represent the harbour of Agrigentum and adjacent seashore, and may be at the same time a symbol of the worship of Poseidon, who had a temple at Agrigentum.

We have spoken as yet only of the coins struck in the Hellenic mints of Sicily. But there is another large and well-known class, the Siculo-Punic, the greater part of which is omitted in this Catalogue. Old-fashioned numismatists, accustomed to the order observed by Eckhel and Mionnet, will certainly feel somewhat surprised and disconcerted at this innovation, which seems to dislocate a series, and will, with not unreasonable curiosity, ask, Why has so numerous and interesting a class been left out? Why, again, they will say, have some Siculo-Punic coins of Panormos, Motya, and Solus been inserted, and not the remaining issue from the same mints?

In reply to these questions a fuller explanation than the few words in Mr. Poole's Preface seems needed. The difficulty in classifying Siculo-Punic coins has hitherto been how to distinguish those struck for Carthage and

other cities in the Punic Empire in Sicilian mints from the currency intended for circulation only in Sicily itself. In the old arrangement followed by Mionnet and Eckhel no attempt was made to separate these two classes, and with them was confounded a third and more numerous series of coins, struck in Punic mints outside Sicily, which imitate, with more or less of barbaric degradation, the Siculo-Punic types. In the excellent work of L. Müller on the coins of Africa will be found a well-considered plan for the solution of this much-vexed numismatic problem, and Mr. Poole seems to have adopted this arrangement, inserting only in his Catalogue such Siculo-Punic coins as were undoubtedly struck in Siculo-Punic mints for currency in Sicily only. This new classification seems on the whole a justifiable innovation, though one to which many numismatists will probably take exception.

We learn from this Catalogue a curious fact about Panormos, that, though from very early times it was occupied by a Punic settlement, coins with a Greek legend were struck there at a date probably not later than B.C. 450. At this period Carthaginian power in Sicily must have been at a very low ebb, and the Punic settlement at Panormos was probably reduced to a mere factory or *emporion,* like our factory at Hongkong, planted in the midst of a Hellenic community, whose independence is proved by their possessing a mint. After the great Carthaginian invasion, B.C. 404, we get no more coins of Panormos with Greek inscriptions; while, on the other hand, the number of fine coins with Phœnician legends, issued from Siculo-Punic mints in the fourth century B.C. marks the permanent ascendancy of Carthage in the western part of the island, and the

desire to assert Punic supremacy in opposition to the power of Dionysios.

When we examine the weights and denominations of the Greek coins of Sicily, both of which are carefully stated in the volume before us, we find that, while the gold and silver coinages are for the most part adjusted to the standard of the Attic *drachma*, the copper coins are multiples of the Italian *litra*. This phenomenon has been thus accounted for. As the Greek and Punic settlements in Sicily gradually took possession of the harbours and coasts, the less civilized Sikels who formed the bulk of the native population, retired into the mountainous interior, where they long maintained their independence. These Sikels, according to the general testimony of ancient historians, had emigrated from Italy to Sicily in very early times, and it was but natural that they should have brought with them the weights and measures of their mother country, and the use of copper rather than silver as the standard of value. Hence among the Sicilian as among the Italian Greeks, we find a scale of weights and money which was formed by a combination and adjustment of two distinct systems, the Hellenic and the Italian. As Grote[230] remarks with his usual sagacity, such a monetary compromise could not have ensued if the Greeks in Italy and Sicily had kept themselves apart as communities and merely carried on commerce and barter with communities of Sikels. It implies a fusion of the two races in the same community, though doubtless in the relation of superior and subject, and not in that of equals.

⊙ E

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ΑΛΛΟΗΗ𐅄ΔΔΔΔΓͰ⁝ΜΟΣΧΟΣΤΕΝΔΕΣΣΙΟΣ
ΕΝΑΥΡΙΣΣΩΙΤΗΝΜΙΚΥΘΟΤΟΙΜΒΡΑΣΣΙΔΟΣ
ΧΧΔΔΔΔΓ⁝ΑΘΗΝΙΩΝΙΜΒΑΡΣΙΔΟΣΕΓΡΙΑΤΟ
ΤΟΣΤΟΑΡΤΕΜΩΝΟΣΕΝΣΡΑΝΣΩΙΗΤΙΣΗΝ
Γ ΟΛΥΙΔΟΣΕΓΡΙΑΤΟΓΗΝΕΝ
ΞΙΟΣΗΙΟΜΟΥΡΟΣΚΑΛΑΒΩΤΗΣ
ΔΔΓͰ⁝ΣΓΑΡΕΥΔΙΤΟΣΓΑΝΥΑΣΣΙΟΣ
ΩΙΗΝΑΥΤΟΣΕΙΧΕΝΗΗΗΝ ΤΙΟΣ
ΛΟΣΤΑΥΣΑΔΟΣΤΗΝΕ ΝΟΣ
ΝΟΓΙΣΘΕΤΟΥΑΓΟΛ
ΝΤΙ

APPENDIX.

A. (Pl. I.)

Θε[οί

Οἵ]δε ἐπρίαντο παρὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος κα[ὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίης καὶ Παρθένου γέας καὶ οἰκίας [τῶν ὀφειλόντων τοῖς Θεοῖς τούτοις· βεβαιοῦν τ[οὺς Θ]εοὺς τὸν ἀΐδιον χρόνον, συμβεβαιοῦν δὲ το[ὺς νεωποίας τῶν Θεῶν τοὺς αἰεὶ ὄντας καὶ ἐξορκίζε[σθαι κατὰ τάοτα⁝ Κονδμάλας Ἀρλιώμο γῆν τὴν Αἰγ[υπτίο τοῦ Ἀρχαγόρεω τὴν ἐλ Λυρισσῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Κυοπρισσίδι ὅσα πρὸς τῇ αὐλῇ ταύτῃ δρα. Λ̌ΧΗΗΗ Ζ]ηνόδωρος Ἀρυάσσιος οἰκίην τὴν Ἀρτέμωνος τοῦ Παναμύω τὴν ἐν Σαλμακίδι δρα. ΗΗΗ𐅄⁝ Τεισίμαχος Ἡ]ρακλείδεω γῆν τὴν Ἀρβήσσιος τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίδεω τ]ὴμ πρὸς Σαλμακίδι δρα. ΗΗΗΔΔΔ⁝ Βόσθων Ἀστυν]όμου οἰκίην τὴν Ἀρλιώμο τοῦ Πύργωνος τὴμ πρὸς [τῷ] τείχει καὶ τὸ κηπίον τὸ πρὸς τῇ οἰκίῃ δρα. ΧΗΗ𐅄ΔΔΔΔ Παντ]αλέων Ἀρτέμωνος γῆν ἐγ Κότοις τὴν Ἀρλιώμο [τοῦ Π]ύργωνος 𐅅Δ⁝ Λεόντισκος Οὐλιάδεος καὶ Διοσκουρί]δης Πιρώμιος γῆν ἐγ Κενάρῳ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀργείο[υ τοῦ Π]ύργωνος 𐅅ΗΗΗΔΔ⁝ Παραύσσωλος Πανυάσσιο[ς γῆν τὴν ἐν Θ?υασσῷ τὴν Ἀρλιώμου τοῦ Πύργωνος Η[Πα]νταλέων Ἀρτέμωνος γῆν τὴν ἐμ Πουνομούοις τὴ[ν Ἀρλιώμου τοῦ Πύργωνος 𐅄⁝ Πρωταγόρης Ἡρακλείδε[ω γῆν τὴν Ἰάσονος τοῦ Παναβλήμιος 𐅅ΗΗΗ𐅄Δ⁝ Ἀρλί[ωμος Κυτρελήμιος οἰκίην τὴν ἐν Σαλμακίδι τὴν Μ]όσχου τοῦ Ἀρλιώμο καὶ αὐτὸγ καὶ ὧν ἱκνεῖται ΗΗΗ ..Δ⁝ Γρίσων Ἀμύντ[ε]ω γῆν ἐν Ὠνζωσσυάσῳ τὴν Τύ-

μνε]υς Ὑεσκυρέρο ΧΗ⁝ Μόσχος Τενδέσσιος γῆν ἐγ Κότο-
ις] Ἰλύξεω τοῦ Οἴγρεω Χ𐅅ΗΗΗΗ Ποσειδώνιος Δημητ-
[ρίο
γ]ῆν ἐλ Λυρισσῷ τὴμ Πυθυδώρο τô Δημητρίο 𐅅Η𐅄Δ
.ανων Ἀντιδότο οἰκίην τὴμ Μέλωνος τοῦ Σιληνô 𐅅⁝⋅⋅
Κ]αλλίστρατος Θεοδώρο[υ] γῆν ἐλ Λυρισσῷ τὴν Σα-
τύρο[υ] τοῦ Ἱστιαίο ΧΧΧ𐅅Η⁝ Διοσκουρίδης Πιρώμιο[ς
οἰκίην τὴμ Μέλωνος τοῦ Σιληνοῦ τὴν ἐμ πόλει
Χ𐅅ΔΔΔΔ⁝ |═══════ Ἀμύντης Ἀρχίππο γῆν ἐγ Κασαί[ῳ
τὴμ Μέλωνος τοῦ Σιληνô 𐅅Η𐅄: Χαιρέδημος Ἀρχαγό-
ρ]εω γῆν τὴν Λητοδώρου τô Μεγαβάτεω καὶ τὴν οἰκίην
τ]ὴν ἐμ πόλει [Χ]Η𐅄ΔΔΓͰͰͰͰ⁝ Μόσχος Τενδέσσιος γῆν
ἐν Δίδῃ τὴμ Βάτωνος τοῦ Μικίννω ΗΗ⁝ Ἀρτέμως Ἐσ-
βώλ[ι]ος γῆν ἐν Σαράνσῳ ἣν εἶχεν Ἕρμαπις ἢ ἣν Ἀλ[έ-
ξιος ΧΗΔΔΔΔ⁝ Ἀκταυσσώλλως Σασσώμο ἐπρίατο
οἰκίην ἐν Σαλμακίδι τὴμ Παννάσσιος τοῦ Ἰδαγύγο
Ὑσσωίης Ἀρβήσιος ἐπρίατο γῆν τὴν Διοτίμο τοῦ Σαρυ-
σώλλο τὴν ἐν Ὠσπραόννῳ ἥτις ἦν Κακράδος καὶ τὴν
θάλασσαν ὅπου τὸ ὀρκυνεῖον 𐅅ΗΗΗ𐅄ΔΔ⁝ Ἀθηνίων
Τρυώλο οἰκίην ἐμ πόλει ἣν εἶχεν Ἀρτύασσις τô Βορορ..
τὴν Ἀλέξιος ΧΧ: Πολύϊδος ἐπρίατο οἰκίην τὴν Γνά-
θωνος τὴν ἐν Ἄργει ᾗ γείτωμ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ Ἰδάγυγο[ς
καὶ Γεροντίδης ΧΗΗ═══════════════

Π]ανύασσις Δημητρίο οἰκίην τὴν Στράτωνος ᾗ γείτων
..ιππος 𐅅ΗΗΗ⁝ Ἀντίπας Σκύθεω ἐπρίατο οἰκίην τὴμ
Μικί-
ννω] τοῦ Σχινοσίο 𐅄ΔΓͰ⁝ ═══════════

Ἀνάξας
........ἐ]πρίατο οἰκίην τὴν Ἀρτεμιδώρο τοῦ Ἀλγάνιος
Κυ]άτβης Πονυσσώλο οἰκίην τὴν Κουλδόϊδος
ωλλο ΗΗ𐅄ΔΔΔΔΓͰ⁝ Μόσχος Τενδέσσιος
γῆν καὶ οἰκίη]ν ἐν Λυρισσῷ τὴν Μικύθο τô Ἰμβράσσιδος
ΧΧΔΔΔΔΓ⁝ Ἀθηνίων Ἰμβάρσιδος ἐπρίατο

ΣΩΛ
ONTΙΣΚΟΝΑΡΔΥΒΕΙ
ΩΝΙΚΝΕΙΤΑΙ:Κ Α
ΣΩΛΛΟΣΣΑΜΑΣΣΙΔΟΣ
ΗΝΕΓΚΟΤΟΙΣΤΗΝ
ΙΟΣΗΝΕΙΧΕΝΑΥΤ
Δ:ΚΟΓΡΩΝΚΥΑΤΒ
ΓΡΙΑΤΟΔΗΜΗΤΡΗ
ΡΔΥΒΕΡΟΚΑΙΩΝΙΙ
ΔΙ.ΚΑ: ΕΡΜΟΔΟ
ΗΣΑΓΟΡΕΩΥΣΣΙΝ
ΚΑΙΣΤΗΣΑΓΟΡΗΝ
ΩΝΙΚΝΕΙΤΑΙΠΑΝΤΩΝ:Ι
ΔΔΔΔΓΙΙΙΠΑΡΑΣΚΩΣΣΙ
ΜΑΣΣΙΔΟΣΓΗΝΑΛΕΞΙΟΣ
ΕΓΚΟΤΟΙΣΗΝΕΙΧΕΝΑΥ
ΤΟΣ:ΡΗΡ:ΑΡΛΙΩΜΟΣΚ
ΤΡΕΛΗΜΙΟΣΜΟΣΧΟΝΤΟ
ΤΟΛΙΔΟΣ ΔΙ= C

ΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣΥΣΣΩΙΟ

ΣΣΙΝΠΕΛΔΗΚΩ:Λ:ΧΑΙΡΕ
ΗΜΟΣΑΡΧΑΓΟΡΕΩΥΣΣΩΙΗ
ΚΥΑΡΕΜΟ:Α:ΑΡΧΙΠΠΟΣΑ
ΓΟΡΕΩΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΗΝΚΛ
ΡΟ:Α:ΣΚΥΛΑΞΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ
ΩΣΜΙΚΡΙΩΝΑ:ΙΙΙ:ΑΡΧΙΠΠ

ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡ
ΟΛΙΤΕΩΣΙΛΗΝΟΝΑΘΗΝ
ΟΡΕΩ 8Α:ΥΣΣΩΛΛΟΣΑΡΔ
ΕΡΟΣΙΛΗΝΟΝΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡ
ΕΩ:Ε□ΙΙΙΙ= ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΩΝ
ΚΩΓΛΟΣΙΛΗΝΟΝΑΘΗ
ΡΕΩ:Ε□ΙΙΙΙ= ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΩΝ
ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝΟΣΣΙΛΗΝΟΝΑΘΗ
ΝΑΓΟΡΕΩ:Ε□ΙΙΙΙ=:ΕΣΤΙΑΙΟΣ
ΣΑΡΥΣΩΛΛΟΝΓΥΓΟΒ□Ι
ΜΟΣΧΟΣΤΕΝΔΕΣΣΙΟΣΠΑ
ΡΑΥΔΙΠΟΝΑΚΤΑΥΑΣΣΙΟ
ΝΕ:ΠΙΓΡΗΣΑΝΔΑΡΣΩΔ
ΔΑΓΥΓΟΝΜΑΚΡΩΝΟ
ΚΗΞ

ΑΜΥΝΤΗΣΠΑΡΑΥΔΙΓΟΛΗ
ΤΟΔΩΡΟΝΕΚΑΤΑΙΟ8Ε□ΙΙΙΙ-

ΤΡΥΩΛΗΣΣΑΣΚΩΝ Β□Ι-: ΧΑΙ
ΡΕΔΗΜΟΣΑΡΧΑΓΟΡΕΩΔΕ
ΞΙΝΟΝΚΕΜΠΤΥΔΟΣ:□Ι=
ΧΑΙΡΕΔΗΜΟΣΑΡΧΑΓΟΡΕΩ
ΜΑΤΙΝΚΒΩΔΕΩ Α:ΧΑΙΡΕ
ΔΗΜΟΣΑΡΧΑΓΟΡΕΩΗΡΑ
ΚΛΕΙΔΗΝΚΒΟΝΔΙΑΣΣΙΟΣ
□ΙΙΙ:ΜΟΣΧΟΣΤΕΝΔΕΣΣΙΟΣ
ΣΕΣΩΛΗΝΣΥΔΥΛΗΜΙΟΣ:Ε
ΧΑΙΡΕΔΗΜΟΣΑΡΧΑΓΟΡΕΩ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΝΠΑΝΤΑΛΕ
ΟΝΤΟΣΙ ΙΜ ΑΚΤ
ΔΗΜΟΝΛ/ □:ΕΞΗ
ΚΕΣΤΟΣΥ ΡΓΟΝ
ΚΤΟΥΒΟΛ ΛΚΟΛΟΣ
ΜΒΑΡΗΛ Ι ΙΝΟ□Ι
\\ ΜΕΝΔΑ
ΚΑΡΑΜΑ
ΧΑΙ ΛΡΧΑΓ
ΡΜ. ΙΙ ΙΞ:

Πανταλέο]ντος τô 'Αρτέμωνος ἐν Σ(α)ράνσῳ ἥτις ἦν
: Πολύϊδος ἐπρίατο γῆν ἐν.........
ἥτις ἦν 'Αλέ]ξιος ἢ ὁμοῦρος Καλαβώτης
ΔΔΓ⊢: Σπαρεύδιτος Παννάσσιος
γῆν ἐν......]ῳ ἣν αὐτὸς εἶχεν ἢ ἦν Α..τιος
λος Ταυσάδος γῆν Ε...νος ?
καὶ οἰκίη]ν τὴν ὄπισθε τοῦ 'Απολ[λωνίου
ιντι

B. (Pl. II.)

σωλ.ο
Λε]όντισκον 'Αρδυβέρ[ο
καὶ] ὧν ἱκνεῖται : ΚΑ.
...σωλλος Σαμάσσιδος
οἰκί]ην ἐγ Κότοις τὴν ['Αλέξ- ?
ιος ἣν εἶχεν αὐτ[ὸς
Δ : Κόπρων Κυάτβ[εω γῆν
ἐ]πρίατο Δημητρη[ίο
'Α]ρδυβέρο καὶ ὧν ἱ[κνεῖ-
ΗΔΙ : ΚΑ : : Ἑρμόδ[ωρος Στ-
ησαγόρεω Ὑσσιν.....
καὶ Στησαγόρην [...καὶ
ὧν ἱκνεῖται πάντων : [ΓΗ or ΓΔ
ΔΔΔΓΙΙΙ : Παράσκως Σα-
μάσσιδος γῆν 'Αλέξιος
ἐγ Κότοις ἣν εἶχεν αὐ-
τὸς: ΓΗΗΓΔ: 'Αρλίωμος Κ[υ-
τρελήμιος Μόσχον το
τολιδος: ΔΙ=C ═══
Five lines cut out.
Δ]ημήτριος Ὑσσωίο═══
═══

σσιν Πελδήκω : Α : Χαιρέ-
δ]ημος 'Αρχαγόρεω Ὑσσωίη[ν
Κυαρέμο : Α : Ἄρχιππος 'Α[ρχ
α]γόρεω 'Αθηναγόρην Κα..
.δρο : Α: Σκύλαξ 'Απολλων[ίδε-
ω Σμικρίωνα : ΙΙΙ : 'Αρχιππ
═══
═══ 'Απολλόδωρ[ος
Π]?ολίτεω Σιληνὸν 'Αθην[α-
γ]όρεω: 8Α: Ὕσσωλος 'Αρδ[υ-
β]έρο Σιληνὸν 'Αθηναγόρ-
εω : C☐IIII═ : Πανταλέων
Κώγλο Σιληνὸν 'Αθηναγό-
ρεω:C☐IIII═ : Πανταλέων
'Αρτέμωνος Σιληνὸν 'Αθη-
ναγόρεω :C☐IIII═ : Ἑστιαῖος
Σαρύσσωλλον Γύγο Β☐Ι
Μόσχος Τενδέσσιος Πα-
ραύδιπον 'Ακτανάσσιο[ς
ΝΕ : Πίγρης 'Ανδάρσω Δ
.δάγυγον Μάκρωνο[ς
ΚΗΞ═══
═══

Αμύντης Παρανδίπο Λη-
τόδωρον Ἑκαταίο : 8C☐IIIꟷ
═══════════
Τρυώλης Σάσκων : B☐I - : Χαι-
ρέδημος Ἀρχαγόρεω Δέ-
ξινον Κέμπτυδος : ☐I═
Χαιρέδημος Ἀρχαγόρεω
Μάτιν Κβώδεω A : Χαιρέ-
δημος Ἀρχαγόρεω Ἡρα-
κλείδην Κβονδιάσσιος
☐III - Μόσχος Τενδέσσιος
Σεσώλην Συδυλήμιος : C

Χαιρέδημος Ἀρχαγόρεω
Ἀπολλωνίδην Πανταλέ-
οντος : ☐ : Ἰμίμας ═ Ακτ[ό
δημον Λατάρεω : ☐ : Ἐξή-
κεστος Ὑσσωίο Γόργον
Κτουβόλδο : A : Γιτάκολος
Ἰ]μβάρηλδον Μοήννο : ☐II
Ἀπ]ολλόδωρος Ἰσεμενδά-
ρ]ο Πασσίδηρον Καραμα
. . ο : ☐ : Χαιρέδημος Ἀρχαγό-
ρεω Φ]ορμίωνα : AIIIII ≡ : ═
═══════════

C (reverse). (Pl. III.)

τοῖς Θεοῖς
κ]αὶ ὧν ἱκνέονται [Χαιρέδημ-
ος ? Ἀρχαγόρω Ἀπολλόδωρον Ἀρχαγόρω ΚΔΙ
ναπουκω : E : Λεοντίσκ[ος
λο : AIII : Ἀπολλόδωρος
ος Πεδώλδο : AIII : Βρυω
Ὑσσώλ]?δο : 8A : Ἀρτεμίδωρος Νευμην[ίο
Ἡ]ρακλίδης Ὑσσώλδω
αλ.λδος : Πίγρεω
λον Ποίω : EIII : Γόργος
Ἀντίπατρος Διον
δος : AIII ═══════
ων Παννάσσιος
σιος Δημητρίο Ταυρο
Κά?]σβαλλιν Ἀῤῥαύο : AIIII ...
═══════ Ἀθηνοκριτο
Κύτπιδος K ═══════
Ἀρτύασσιος : AIIIII ═══════
═══════════
κ]αὶ Θυσσωι
Πύργων Παντ[αλέοντος
Τ]ενδέσσιος

ΚΕΛΑΔΝΑΣΣΙΣ .
ΑΡΥΑΣΣΙΟΣ ΑΡ
ΛΩΝΙΔΕΩ ΑΡΥΑΣΣ

ΠΑΤΟΙ ΚΟΣ
ΗΝΟΔΩΡ
ΝΔΕΣΣΙΣΑΠ
ΠΟΛΥ

ΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ
ΑΙΩΝΙΚΝΕΟΝΤΑΙ
ΑΓΟΡΩΑΓΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΝΑΡΧ ΑΓΟΡΩΚΔΙ
ΝΑΓΟΥΚΩ:Ε·ΛΕΟΝΤΙΣΚ
ΛΟ:ΑΙΙΙ:ΑΓΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΣ
ΣΓΕΔΩΛΔΟ:ΑΙΙΙ:ΒΡΥΩ
ΛΟ8Α:ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣΝΕΥΜΗΝ
ΙΡΑΚΛΙΔΗΣΥΣΣΩΛΔΩ
ΑΛ ΛΔΟΣΓΙΓΡΕΩ
ΛΟΝΓΟΙΩ:ΕΙΙΙ:ΓΟΡΓΟΣ
ΑΝΤΙΓΑΤΡΟΣΔΙΟΝ
ΔΟΣ:ΑΙΙΙ
ΩΝΓΑΝΥΑΣΣΙΟΣ
ΣΙΟΣΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟ ΤΑΥΡΟ
ΣΒΑΛΛΙΝΑΡΡΑΥΟ:ΑΙΙΙΙ
ΑΘΗΝΟΚΡΙΤΟ
ΝΚΥΤΓΙΔΟΣ
ΑΡΤΥΑΣΣΙΟΣ:Α ΙΙΙΙΙ
Μ
Υ ΑΙΟΥΣΣΩΙ
ΓΥΡΓΩΝΓΑΝΤ
ΕΝΔΕΣΣΙΟΣ
ΛΙΩΜΟΓΑΡΜΕ
ΜΑΥΣΣΩΛΛΟ
ΙΛΟΣΕΣΚΩΝ
ΩΛΔΟΝΥΣΣΩΙ
ΙΥΒΛΗΣΙΟΣ
ΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΣ
ΩΜΟΝΕΟΜΗΝΙΣ

ΔΟΝΤΟΥΝΟΒΟ:8
ΚΟΚΩΔΟΣ:Δ:ΑΡΙ
ΚΕΛΔΝΑΣΣΙΣ
ΑΡΥΑΣΣΙΟΣΑΡ
ΛΩΝΙΔΕΩΑΡΥΑΣΣ
ΤΥΜΝΗΝΙΔΥΒΑ
ΣΑΜΩΥΟΝΒΡΥΑΣΣΙΟ

ΑΤΟΣΑΡΙΙΙΥΜΟΣ
ΑΓΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΝ
ΝΟΥΑΙΙΙ:ΑΡΒΗΣΙΣ
ΟΛΕΤΑΔΟΣ:ΑΙΙΙ
ΛΕΩΝΓΙΓ
ΜΙΚΟΣΞΩΙΛΟΞ
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΕΩ:ΓΖΟ
ΝΟΣ:Β:ΑΡΧΙΓΓΟ
ΜΑΧΟΣΚΡΑΤΩΙ
ΚΛΕΙΔΕΩΑΓΟΛ
ΘΥΡΟ:ΒΟ ΑΜΥΝΤΗ
ΤΗΣΟΣΕΑΔΟΣΒΡΥΓ
ΨΚΟΙΔΩΛΟΣΣΕΣΚΩΝΝ
ΚΕΤΑΝΚΥΑΤΒΕΩ:Ε:ΑΘΗ
ΑΛΕΩΝΑΡΤΕ
ΚΤ ΒΡΥΑΣΣΙ
ΙΣΛΙ

ΜΑ

ΖΩΙΛΟΥΚΩΛ
ΣΥΣΥΣΣΩΙ
ΤΙΑΙΟΓΚΟ
ΗΝΟΔΩΡ
ΝΔΕΣΣΙΣΑΓ
ΓΟΛΥΙ
ΡΤΕΜΟ

ΜΟΝ
ΙΤΗ

'Αρ]λιώμο Παρμε
Μαυσσωλλο
Ζω]ΐλο ? Σέσκων
῞Υσσ]ωλδον Ὑσσωί[εω
....υβλήσιος
'Απο]λλόδωρος
'Αρλ]ιώμο Νεομήνιο[ς

Five lines cut out.

Ζωΐλου Κωλ
δον Τουνόβο ? 8   υς Ὑσσωι
κοκωδος : Δ : 'Αρ   [Ἰσ]τιαῖογ Κοσ
Κέλδνασσι[ς   'Αθ]ηνοδωρ
'Αρυάσσιος 'Αρτ   [Τέ]νδεσσις 'Απ[ολ
λωνίδεω 'Αρύασσ[ιν   Πολυΐ
Τύμνην 'Ιδύβα   'Α]ρτεμω
Σαμώνον Βρυάσσιο[ς
κμον
ατος 'Αρτήυμος ?   ιτη
'Απολλόδωρον 'Α[ρχαγόρεω
νου ΑΙΙΙ : ῞Αρβησις
ολετάδος : ΑΙΙΙ
λεων Πιρ[όμιος ?
μικος Ζωΐλο
Ἡρακλείδεω : ΓΖ☐
νος : Β : ῎Αρχιππο[ς
μαχος Κράτω[νος   [Ἡρα-
κλείδεω 'Απολ
θύρο : Β☐ : 'Αμύντη[ς
της 'Οσεάδος Βρύ[ασσιν ?
Ψ Κοίδωλος Σέσκωννο[ς
.κεταν ? Κυάτβεω : Ε : 'Αθη[νόκριτος ?
[Παντ]αλέων 'Αρτέ[μωνος
Κτάβασσις Βρυάσσι[ος
Ισα

μα

D. (Pl. IV.)

σιο : ΑΙΙΙ
αλωδως
αδουδεω : Ε
῾Υ]σσωίο Πεδασεὺς
Βοιώαδιν : ΒΙ : Σαρ
᾽Αρλίσσιος καὶ Μό[σ-
χος] Τενδέσσιος [Μύ]ρτιλ[ον ?
Βοιώμο : ΑΙΙΙΙΙ [᾽Α]πτοίη-
τος Καλλιστράτο Παραύ-
σωλλον Σελ...... ΑΙΙΙΙ
. ονγευς καὶ Διοσκουρ[ί-
δ]ης παῖδε[ς] Εἰνδίο ? Ρακ.
.ιν ῾Υσσελδώμου ? : 8Β : Παν[ύ-
α]σσις ᾽Αρτέμωνος Κυάτβ[ην
᾽Α]ρτέμωνος : ΑΙΙΙΙΙ⁝═ : Κ.λω
ος ᾽Αρνάσσιος ῾Υσσωίη[ν
καὶ] ῎Αρδυ[σσ]ιν ΙΙΙ═ : ᾽Αθηνόκ[ρι-
τος [῾Υσσέ]λδωμον ῾Υσσωί-
εω] ΙΙΙ═ : ...διος Δάσωνος
Σεσώ[λη]ν Σιδυλήμιος ᾽Α-
στύ.... ᾽Απολλωνίδε[ω
Σαμώ[νο]ν Βρώλω : ΙΙΙΙ⁝≡

Line cut out.

════════════ Κο
.ωλδος ᾽Αρνάσσιος Α
ισιν ᾽Αρλιώμο : ΛΑ : ΙΙΙΙ═
῾Υσ]σωίης ᾽Ιδαγύγο ᾽Αρτέμ[ω-
να Τερρίτο : Β☐Ι⁝ Θεόδοτο[ς
῾Υσσίσιος καὶ Βράταχος
καὶ Πάρπις Τασθάλο ᾽Αλοι-
῾Υσσελδώμο : ΛΛ☐ Διότιμο-
ς] Σαρυσώλλο Κάκραν ῾Υσσ-

ΣΙΟ:ΑΙΙΙ
ΑΛΩ ΔΩ Σ
ΛΔΟΥΔΕΩ:Ε
Υ ΄Ω ΟΠΕ ΔΑΣΕΥΣ
ΒΟΙ ΑΔΙΝ:ΒΙ ΣΑΡ
ΑΡΛΙΣΣΙΟΣΚΑΙ ΜΟ
ΤΕΝΔΕΣΣΙΟΣ ΙΙΡΤΙΛ
ΒΟΙΩΜΟ:ΑΙΙΙΙΙ : ΄ΡΤΟΙΗ
ΤΟΣΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟ ΠΑΡΑΥ
ΣΩΛΛΟΝΣΙ/ Ͱ Α΄ΝΛΟΣ ΑΙΙΙΙ
ΟΝ ΓΕ ΚΑΙΔΙΟ ΣΚΟΥΡ
ΗΣΠΑΙΔΓ ΔΟΡΑΚΙ
ΙΝΥΣΣΕΛ/ Ι/ \ΙΙ:ΒΒ ΠΑΝ
ΣΣΙΣΑΡΤΕΜΩΝΟΣΚΥΑΤΒ
ΡΤΕΜΩ ΝΟΣ:ΛΙΙΙΙΙ=:ΚΛ ΛΩ
ΟΣΑΡΥΑΣΣΙΟΣΥΣΣΩΙΗ
ΝΙΙΙ=:ΑΘΗΝΟΚ
ΤΟΣΙ ΛΔΩΜΟΝΥΣΣΩΙ
ΙΙΙ=: ΙΙΛΙΟΣΔΑΣΩΝΟΣ
ΣΕΣΩ ΝΣΙΔΥΛΗΜΙΟΣΑ
ΣΤΥ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΕ
ΣΑΜΩ ΝΒΡΩΛΩ:ΙΙΙΙΙ☰

ΚΟ
ΩΛΔΟΣΑΡΥΑΣΣΙΟΣΑ
'Σ:ΙΝΑΡΛΙΟΜΟ:Λ Α:ΙΙΙΙΙ=
-ΣΩΙΗΣΙΔΑΓΥΓΟΑΡΤΕΜ
ΙΙΑΤΕΡΡΙΤΟ:ΒΩΙ:ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟ
ΥΣΣΙΣΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΒΡΑΤΑΧΟΣ
ΚΑΙΠΑΡΠΙΣΤΑΣΘΑΛΟΑΛΟΙ
ΥΣΣΕΛΔΩΜΟ:ΛΛΩ ΔΙΟΤΙΜΟ
ΣΑΡΥΣΩΛΛΟΚΑΚΡΑΝΥΣΣ
ΔΩΜΟΠΛΗΝΕΚΑΤΑΙΗΣ
ΑΙΩΝΗΑΔΕΛΦΗΕΚΡΑΤΗ
VΕΝΤΕΡΜΕΡΟΙΣΚΑΙΤΟ
ΡΟΣΤΟΥΚΗΠΟ:ΚΑ:
ΔΑΙΟΣΛΥΞΕΩΦΑΝΟ
ΟΝΝΕΟΜΗΝΙΟΒΘΕΙ
ΤΗΣΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΚΑΙΣ
ΣΣΩΙΟ ΑΠΟΛ
ΗΝΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣΑΩ
ΠΑΝΥΑΣΣΙΟΣΝΕΟ
\ΑΝΥΔΟΣΠΛΗΝ
ΣΚΑΙΧΑΙΤΩΝΟΣ
ΟΣΕΩ:ΚΟΝΔΩ
ΠΠΟΝΠΑΡΑ
ΕΠΙΚΛΗΣΣΑΡ
ΑΡΕΩΠΛΗΝ
ΔΕΛΦΟΙ
ΗΣΕΧΕ
ΙΓΡΗ
ΣΙΜ

ελ]δώμο πλὴν Ἑκαταίης
κ]αὶ ὧν ἡ ἀδελφὴ ἐκράτη-
σ]εν ἐν Τερμέροις καὶ τὸ
μέ]ρος τοῦ κήπο : ΚΑ :
..δαιος Λύξεω Φανό-
κριτ]ον Νεομηνίο : 8 Θε
της Πινδάρο καὶ Στ
Ὑ]σσωίο ═══ Ἀπολ-
ωνίδ]ην Στράτωνος Α□
.... Παννάσσιος Νεο-
.... ανυδος πλὴν
ς καὶ Χ ? αίτωνος
ος : Ε□ : Κονδω-
ι]ππον Παρα-
Ἐπικλῆς Σαρ-
Λατ]άρεω ? πλὴν
ἀ]δελφô :
ις : Εχε
Π]ίγρη
σιμ

This inscription was discovered some years ago, in the Castle of St. Peter, at Budrum, by Mr. Alfred Biliotti, H.M. Consul at Trebizond. It is engraved on the four sides of a *stelè* of blue marble, which measures 4 ft. by 1 ft. 7 in. by 9 in., and which is built into the parapet of a water-tank inside a small powder magazine in the outer Baylee of the Castle. All the words underlined in the cursive text are cut about a quarter of an inch deep into the marble, and have evidently been substituted for other words. After lines 48, 51, and in several subsequent places, lines have been cut out. The purport of the

2 F

inscription is the registration of sales of lands and houses which had been confiscated to Apollo, Athenè, and a Goddess, called here Parthenos, and which are sold to individuals with a title guaranteed by these Deities, and therefore indefeasible. The dialect is Ionic, and the writing so similar to that of the Lygdamis inscription originally published in my "History of Discoveries," I. Pl. i. No. 1, as to suggest the possibility that the two documents are nearly contemporary.

The process by which, in the inscription before us, a good title for ever is insured, is a very simple one, and was probably commonly in use among the Greeks when real property confiscated to a Deity was re-sold. The preamble states that the lands and houses having been forfeited to certain divinities by those who were their debtors, τῶν ὀφειλόντων τοῖς Θεοῖς τούτοις, are re-sold under a perpetual guarantee from the Gods themselves and from the *Neopoiai*, or wardens, of their temples. I am not aware of any other document in Greek literature or inscriptions in which this particular form of sacred guarantee can be recognized, but it has its analogy in the process through which a slave was enfranchised by dedication to the service of a God, whose protection he might ever afterwards invoke against all oppressors.

In the Mylasa inscription, relating to certain conspirators against Mausolos (Böckh, C. I. 2691), their real property is confiscated by decree of the people ἐπαρὰς ποιησαμένη τούτων τὰς ὠνὰς τοῖς πριαμένοις κυρίας εἶναι. So in the Chian inscription (Cauer, Delectus p. 166, and Bullet. de Corresp. Hellén. III., p. 240), which is probably contemporary with our inscription, the

city guarantees the purchaser of confiscated lands by a similar clause, τῷ δὲ πριαμένῳ πρῆχμα ἔστω μηδέν· ὃς ἂν τὰς πρήσις ἀκρατέα[ς] ποιῇ, ἐπαράσθω κατὰ αὐτ[ὸ] ὁ βασιλεός, ἐπὴν τὰς νομ[ίμ]ας ἐπαρὰς ποιῆται. So again in Athenian law, real property sold by the state was indefeasible, (see Demosth. adv. Timokr. 54, ed. Reiske, p. 717, and adv. Pantæn. 19, ed. Reiske, p. 972). Any person troubling another's possession of land so acquired would be liable to the action called τῆς ἐξούλης δίκη (Pollux, Onomast. viii. 59). Possibly the ἐξορκίζεσθαι here refers to such an ἐπαρά invoked by the *Neopoiai*, but, as the verb is used in its middle sense, it more probably relates to an oath by which these officers bound themselves to maintain the guarantee here given.

Of the three Deities named in the preamble of our inscription, Apollo comes first as the principal Deity of Halikarnassos, to whom, in the Lygdamis inscription, the property of all who transgress the decree is to be forfeited. The worship of Athenè at Halikarnassos was previously known to us by the inscription (Böckh, C. I. 2660), and by coins, but who is the Deity called Parthenos, l. 3? We find her in another inscription attributed by Böckh to Halikarnassos (C. I. 2661, b), and in an inscription at Patmos (Ephem. Archaiol. 1862, No. 229), and we find in Athenæos mention of a *hieron* dedicated to her in the neighbouring island of Leros. The same name occurs on an Athenian relief (Schöne, Basreliefs Grecs d'Athénes, No. 48, p. 23), inscribed over the head of a youthful figure who wears a *polos* on her head, and is joining hands with Athenè. She was also worshipped at Neopolis in Macedonia (see the Berlin Corpus Inscript. Att. iv. Pt. 1, p. 17, and Heuzey,

Macédoine, p. 21). On an unedited copper coin of Neopolis, engraved by Schöne, is a female figure with a *polos*, probably representing Parthenos. We learn from Strabo, vii. p. 308, that there was a temple of a Goddess bearing the same name at Chersonesos, a city in the Tauric Chersonese, which had been founded by Herakleans. This temple was called Parthenion, and contained an ancient statue (ξόανον) of the goddess. Strabo describes her as δαίμων τις, and she may be, as M. Schöne supposes, another form of Artemis. Herodotos, iv. 103, seems to identify this same Parthenos with Iphigenia, see Baehr ad loc.; K. O. Müller, Orchomen. p. 305; L. Ross, Inscript. Ined. II. p. 73.

The list of purchases of lands and houses extends from l. 7 to l. 82. The sums paid range from 11,300 drachmæ, l. 9, to 50 drachmæ, l. 22. In the register of sales of lands and houses in a Tenos inscription (Böckh, C. I. No. 2338), the highest price paid is 8000 drachmæ. In the Chian inscription already referred to, certain lands, supposed to be confiscated, are sold for 5340 pieces of money, which, according to M. Haussoullier (Bullet. de Corresp. Hellén. III., p. 241), are probably staters; in that case the prices paid for these houses and lands in Chios would be much higher than the prices paid for real property in the same period at Halikarnassos. But as we know neither the circumstances in which these public sales took place, nor the acreage or quality of the lands sold, little is to be inferred from the comparison. According to Lysias, adv. Polyuch. ed. Reiske, p. 610, real property sold after confiscation sometimes fetched a low price.

After l. 82, the inscription records no more purchases, but gives a succession of entries, each of which contains

a proper name in the nominative, accompanied in most cases by the father's name, and followed by a name in the accusative; the entry is concluded by certain *sigla* which evidently belong to a mode of notation altogether different from the Attic system of noting drachmæ employed in the earlier part of the inscription. Now arises the question: What is the governing verb to be here supplied? Among the names in the nominative in this second register are several who have been previously named as purchasers, and this leads me to assume that the names in the accusative represent sureties (ἔγγυοι), and that the verb to be supplied is ἐγγυᾶσθαι, or some equivalent. We know that by the laws of Athens and other Greek states, the purchaser of real property had to produce sufficient sureties (ἔγγυοι), if he had not the means of paying down the whole price on making the purchase, and it is not likely that the *Neopoiai* in this case would have neglected so usual a precaution. It may be objected that only a small proportion of the names in the nominative case in this register are previously entered as purchasers. But we may account for this in two ways. From the mutilated condition of the marble, neither the register of sales, nor the subsequent register, which I suppose to be of sureties, has come down to us entire. Moreover, among so many purchasers, some may have been in a condition to pay down the purchase-money at once, others may have paid it in instalments, and these latter would be the persons whose sureties are entered in the second register as liable for certain amounts on account of certain purchasers. In some cases a surety might only undertake liability for a part of a purchase, and this would explain the limitation

of suretyship, l. 213 sqq. Διότιμο[ς] Σαρυσσώλλο Κάκραν Ὑσσ[ελ]δώμο πλὴν Ἑκαταίης [κ]αὶ ὧν ἡ ἀδελφὴ ἐκράτησεν ἐν Τερμέροις καὶ τὸ [μέ]ρος τοῦ κήπο; "Diotimos enters Kakras as his surety for the payment of all the purchase-money, except for the land called Hekataiè, the land held by his sister in Termeroi, and the portion of garden." Compare the remains of a similar proviso, l. 225 and l. 230. So again, Chairedemos, son of Archagoras, (lines 86, 110—116, 130), provides five separate sureties, and Moschos, son of Tendessis (lines 102, 116, 189), three. On the other hand, we find Silenos, son of Athenagoras (lines 93—99), acting as surety for four different purchasers. If we assume that the entries in the second register represent sureties, the next question which has to be settled is what is the meaning of the *sigla* with which nearly all these entries are concluded: these I have arranged in the subjoined list, thus:

A, ll. 113, 123.
A□, l. 223.
AIII, ll. 133, 134, 140, 168, 169, 184.
AIIII, ll. 143, 193.
AIIIII, ll. 146, 191.
AIIIII ≣, l. 128.

B, l. 173.
B□, l. 176.
B□I, ll. 101, 109, 210.
BI, l. 188.

Δ, l. 159.

ΔI = C, l. 84.

E, l. 132.
E□, l. 227.
EIII, l. 138.

HΔI, l. 75?

KA, ll. 75, 218.
KΔI, l. 131.
KHΞ, l. 106.

Λ, l. 90.
ΛΛ□, l. 213.

ΑΑ:ΙΙΙΙΙ ═, l. 208.
ΑΙΙΙΙΙ ═, l. 198.

ΝΕ, l. 104.

Ψ, l. 178.

□, ll. 120, 121, 127.
□Ι ═, l. 111.
□ΙΙ, l. 124.
□ΙΙΙ-, l. 116.

8, ll. 158, 220.

8Α, l. 94.
8Β, l. 196.
8⊏□ΙΙΙ⊦, l. 108.

⊏, l. 117.
⊏□ΙΙΙΙ ═, ll. 96, 98, 100.

ΓΖ□, l. 172.

ΙΙΙΙ ⁝ ≡, l. 205.

It may, I think, be assumed that these *sigla* are numerals, but they cannot, so far as I know, be explained by any system of numerical notation in use among the Greeks. If we take the vertical strokes as units, the horizontal strokes are probably fractional parts of the same units, but what then is the value of the *sigla* which precede these vertical strokes on the left. Of these *sigla* eleven are letters of the Greek alphabet; □ may possibly be the Archaic form of omikron in use in Bœotia (see Table ii. in Kirchhoff's Studien). 8 may possibly be the Karian letter, No. 32 of Mr. Sayce's alphabet (see Transactions of Royal Soc. Lit. N. S. x. p. 546). On the foot of two Greek vases (Birch and Newton, Cat. of Vases in Brit. Mus. I. Pl. A, 508, and II. Pl. C, 1282), a similar character occurs. ΓΖ is a character quite unknown to me. ⊏ may be the half of □. Whatever the numerical value of these *sigla* may be, their position immediately following the names in the accusative, which I suppose to represent the sureties of certain purchasers, suggests the notion

that each group of *sigla* represents either a sum of money or the exact amount of liability to which the several sureties were pledged. In one case only (l. 75) can we be sure that the numerals following the accusative represent a sum of money: Ἑρμόδ[ωρος Στ]ησαγόρεω Ὕσσιν.... καὶ Στησαγόρην [καὶ] ὧν ἱκνεῖται πάντων [𐅅 or 𐅄] ΔΔΔΔΓΙΙΙ. In l. 108, the last *siglum* ⊢, as copied by Mr. Biliotti, is the usual sign of the drachma, but I think it not unlikely that the horizontal stroke in this character was originally separate from the vertical stroke, thus I-, and that they have been united by mistake in the transcript. In line 75, Mr. Biliotti reads HΔI, which would stand for 111 drachmæ, but I suspect that the reading is TAI, the three last letters of ἱκνεῖται continued from the preceding lines. If, however, we assume that all the groups of *sigla* represent sums of money, then it seems probable that they record either the earnest-money, ἀῤῥαβών, or the registration fee, ἐπώνιον, which we know to have been usually paid on the transfer of land among the Greeks. Respecting the ἀῤῥαβών, or earnest-money, we have the following statements in ancient authors. In a fragment of the Treatise on the laws by Theophrastos, (Dareste, Traité des lois de Theophraste, in the Revue de Législation, Paris, 1870-71, p. 279), we are told that a purchaser of real property can only enter into possession, κτῆσις, when the price has been paid and the legal formalities complied with, such as registration, ἀναγραφή, or an oath, or an appeal to the testimony of neighbours. The act of sale itself and the transfer, παράδοσις, as most legislators have enacted, is complete when (the seller) receives the ἀῤῥαβών. The ἀῤῥαβών must bear a certain proportion to the price paid, τιμή—τάττουσι δὲ τίνες καὶ

τὸν ἀῤῥαβῶνα πόσον δεῖ διδόναι πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῆς τιμῆς μερίζοντες. According to the law of Thourii, the price ought to be paid on the same day as the delivery of the *ἀῤῥαβών.* In other states, the number of days intervening between the giving of the pledge and the final payment was fixed by law or by agreement.

The *ἐπώνιον* seems to have been a registration-fee, paid probably on the *ἀναγραφή.* The buyer, according to Theophrastos, paid one per cent., *ἑκατοστή,* on the purchase-money for registration ; we have an example of this in an Attic inscription, Rangabé II., No. 877, which contains the following entries,—

'Ωνὴ, Νικόμαχος Πολυλαίου ἐκ Κ[εφαλῆς 𐅄] ἑκατοστὴ IIIT
'Ωνὴ, Στράτων Μνησιφάνους Κοθω : ἑκατο. ⊢
'Ωνὴ, Μνησίμαχος Μνησόκου Κοθ. Η[Η𐅄.]
ἑκατοστὴ ⊢⊢III.

See ibid. No. 878, and Böckh, Staatshaush. 2nd ed. ii. p. 347.

This confirms the statement in Bekker, Anecd. Græca, p. 255, *ἐπώνια τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ ὠνῇ προσκαταβαλλόμενα, ὥσπερ ἑκατοσταί τινες* : and Theophrastos ap. Stob. says that at Athens the purchaser paid this. Suidas and Harpokration s. v. speak of the *ἐπώνιον* as a duty on sales of uncertain amount, *εἴη δ' ἴσως ἡ πέμπτη.*

In the curious inscription from Erythrae registering the sale of priesthoods, the *ἐπώνιον* in each entry follows after the price thus : l. 54, *Μολίων Διονυσίου, ἐγγυητὴς Φανόπολις Μενεκλείους* . . ΗΗ, *ἐπώνιον* Γ. The relative portions of the *ἐγγυητής* and the *ἐπώνιον* in these entries would thus correspond very nearly with the relative positions of the names in the accusative case in our inscription which I

suppose to represent ἐγγυηταί, and the *sigla* which follow them; there is, however, this difference, that in the Erythraean inscription, the price, τιμή, always precedes the ἐπώνιον, whereas in our inscription the entries which note the price paid make no mention either of ἐγγυηταί or ἐπώνιον. I am disposed to infer from this that in the sales in our inscription no ἐπώνιον was paid, and that, if the *sigla* represent money, they do not denote an ἐπώνιον, but possibly the payment of an ἀῤῥαβών, or earnest-money.

It is obvious that if all the purchase-money was not paid down at the time of sale, some payment in the nature of an ἀῤῥαβών would be necessary to complete the παράδοσις, which, according to Theophrastos, preceded the κτῆσις or full possession. The fact that such an ἀῤῥαβών, bearing a certain proportion to the τιμή, had been paid would naturally be recorded in the register, ἀναγραφή, and the *sigla* may thus represent the whole sum due from the purchaser in the first instance, and in his default from the ἐγγυητής. It is possible again that the *sigla* may express the date when the deferred payment will fall due, with the interest charged on the debt up to a certain date.

I have suggested that the *sigla* may represent the amount of liability which each surety undertook. An inscription from Olymos, in Karia, Lebas, No. 324, gives some colour to this supposition. Here seven sureties in an emphyteutic lease taken by Dionysios and Hermias, give security severally for a 7th part of the liability, διηγγύησαν Ἑκαταῖος and five others κατὰ τὰ ἓξ μέ[ρη, Ἀρισ]τέας δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἕβδομον, Διονύσιον Πόλλιος καὶ Ἑρμίαν Ἑστι[αίου] μισθωμένους...γῆν ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμίδι. If we substitute ἠγγυήσαντο for διηγγύησαν, and *sigla* for

the words ἑξ μέρη, &c., we should have an entry similar to those which I am now considering.

So again in the Tenos register of sales of real property, C. I. 2338, the sureties of the sellers, πρατῆρες, in some cases make themselves severally liable for a definite sum, which is only a portion of the price paid for the property.

The problem of which I here offer a conjectural explanation, but which must be regarded as still unsolved, is further complicated by the repeated insertion in these entries of the clause καὶ ὧν ἱκνεῖται.

The first time it occurs is in lines 23—25, Ἀρλί[ω]μος Κυτρελήμιος οἰκίην τὴν ἐν Σαλμακίδι τὴν [Μ]όσχου τοῦ Ἀρλιώμο καὶ αὐτὸγ καὶ ὧν ἱκνεῖται. We find it again l. 68, l. 74. In line 78 we have καὶ] ὧν ἱκνεῖται πάντων; l. 130, κ]αὶ ὧν ἱκνέονται.

I am unable to explain satisfactorily this recurring phrase. In two instances, l. 25 and l. 74, and also probably l. 68, it is inserted in entries recording the purchase of real property; in l. 78 it follows a name in the accusative, in l. 130 so much of the text is lost that it is impossible to say what the form of the entry was. The force of ἱκνέομαι in these clauses is clearly the same as in a passage of Dion Cassius, Fragm. Peiresc xxix. ed. Reimar, pp. 14, 51, ed. Sturz, i. p. 34. Καίσων Φάβιος οὗ ἡ ἱερουργία ἱκνεῖτο, "whose function it was to perform the sacred rites." Thus καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ὧν ἱκνεῖται would be "both himself and whom else it may concern." If we suppose the names in the accusative to be those of sureties, ὧν ἱκνεῖται may mean that the liability extended beyond that of the surety himself to others who had interests in common with him. These persons would probably be his heirs, unless the *phratria* to which the

surety belonged also incurred liability. But this explanation does not account for the first entry, l. 25, where *καὶ αὐτὸγ καὶ ὧν ἱκνεῖται* follows after the record of the purchase of a house. This must be the ellipse of a fuller formula familiar to the people of Halikarnassos, but unknown to us.

The dialect in this inscription is, as might have been expected, Ionic, as in the Lygdamis inscription from Halikarnassos.

l. 3, we have *γέας*, as in the Chian inscription (Cauer, Delectus, p. 167, No. 133), and in the Mylasa inscriptions (Lebas, Nos. 414, 415).

l. 7, *τάοτα* for *ταῦτα*. For other examples of this Ionic mode of orthography, see K. Curtius, Urkunden zur Geschichte von Samos, Lübeck, 1877, p. 26, Erman in G. Curtius, Studien, v. p. 294, G. Curtius, Grundzüge, p. 557, Bullet. de Corr. Hellén. iii. p. 51.

l. 62. *ἦν αὐτὸς εἶχεν, ἢ ἦν* 'Α.*ιτιος*. The name here is probably 'Α[*λέξ*]*ιος*, as the T may be the remnant of Ξ.

l. 63. In both copies THN, more probably ΓΗΝ.

l. 129. *τοῖς Θεοῖς*. This may be part of a heading similar to that at the beginning of the decree; in that case we should supply *τῶν ὀφειλόντων*] *τοῖς Θεοῖς* [*τούτοις*. In placing C after B I have simply followed Mr. Biliotti's copy. It may be that on the reverse of this stone was an inscription somewhat different in import to that on A, though relating to the same subject, but of C unfortunately too little remains to enable us to make out more than the general character of its entries, which are similar to those in B and D.

This inscription supplies some additional instances of

proper names ending in ις with a genitive in ιος. This is recognized as an early Ionic form by Erman, De titulorum Ionicorum dialecto in G. Curtius, Studien, v. p. 304.

Independently of its value as an unique specimen of a register of sales of real property belonging to temples, this inscription has a special interest on account of the number of Karian proper names which it contains.

These may be arranged according to their terminations in the following groups,—

In ωλος or ωλως, σωλος, σωλλος, or σωλλως.

Ἀκτανσσώλως, l. 40.
Βρώλως, l. 205.
Κοίδωλος, l. 178.
Μαύσσωλος, l. 151.
Παραύσσωλλος, l. 19.
Παραύσωλος, l. 192.
Πονύσσωλος, l. 54.
Σαρύσσωλος, ll. 42, 101.
Ὕσσωλλος, l. 94.

In σις with gen. in ιος.

Ἀκταύασσις, l. 103.
Ἄρβησσις, l. 12.
Ἄρβησις, ll. 42, 168.
Ἄρδυ[σσ]ις, l. 200.
Ἄρλισσις, l. 189.
Ἀρτύασσις, ll. 45, 146.
Ἀρύασσις, ll. 10, 161, 162, 199, 207.
Βρύασσις, ll. 164, 177? 181.
Κβονδίασσις, l. 115.
Κτάβασσις, l. 181.
Κέλδνασσις, l. 160.
Πανύασσις, ll. 19, 41, 49, 61, 141, 196, 224.
Τένδεσσις, ll. 27, 37, 55, 102, 116, 149, 161, 190.
Ὕσσισις, l. 211.

In σις with gen. in ιδος.

Ἴμβρασσις, l. 56.
Ἴμβαρσις, l. 57.
Σάμασσις, l. 69, 80.

In ημις with gen. ιος.

Κυτρέλημις, l. 82.
Πανάβλημις, l. 23.
Συδύλημις, l. 117.
Σιδύλημις, l. 203.

In ωμος.

Ἀρλίωμος, ll. 7, 14, 16, 20, 21, 23, 25, 82, 150, 156.
Βοίωμος, l. 191.
Σάσσωμος, l. 40.
Ὑσσέλδωμος, ll. 196, 201, 213, 214.

The following names are all probably Karian,—

Ἄλγανις, l. 53.
Ἀνδάρσης, l. 104.
Ἀρδύβερος, ll. 67, 74.
Ἄῤῥανος? l. 143.
Ἀρτέμως, ll. 38, 163.
Ἀρτήυμος? l. 166.
Βόσθων, l. 13.
Γύγος, l. 101.
Δ.δάγυγος? l. 105.
Ἔσβωλις, ιος, l. 38.
Ἰδάγυγος, ll. 41, 47, 209.
Ἰδύβας? l. 163.
Ἰλύξης, l. 28.
Ἰμβάρηλδος, l. 124.
Ἰμίμας, l. 120.
Ἰσεμένδαρος, l. 125.
Κάκρας, αδος, ll. 43, 214.
Καλαβώτης, l. 60.
Κβώδης, l. 113.
Κέμπτυς, υδος, l. 111.
Κονδμάλας, l. 7.
Κο.ωλδος, l. 206.
Κούλδοϊς, ιδος, l. 54.
Κτούβολδος, l. 123. This may be Ἰκτούβολδος.
Κυάτρης, ll. 54, 72, 179, 197.
Κύτπις, ιδος, l. 145.
Κώγλος? l. 97.
Λατάρης, l. 121.
Μάτις, l. 113.
Μικίννως, l. 38.
Μόηννος, l. 124.
Ὀσέας, αδος, l. 177.
Παναμύης, l. 11.
Παράσκως, l. 79.
Παραύδιπος, ll. 103, 107.
Πάρπις, l. 212.
Πέδωλδος, l. 134.
Πελδήκως, l. 86.
Πιτάκολος, l. 123; qu.? Γιτάκολος.
Πολύϊδος, ll. 46, 59, 162; qu.? Ποδύϊλος.
Σαμώυος, ll. 164, 205.
Σάσκως, l. 109.
Σέσκων, νος, ll. 152, 178.
Σεσώλης, ll. 117, 203.
Σπαρεύδιτος, l. 61.
Σχινόσιος, l. 51.
Τάσθαλος, l. 212.
Ταύσας, αδος, l. 63.
Τούνοβος? l. 158.

Τρυώλης, ll. 45, 109.
Τύμνης, ll. 26, 163.
Ὑεσκύρεερος, l. 27.
Ὑσσωίης, ll. 42, 85, 87, 122, 158, 187, 222.
Ὑσσώλδως, l. 136.
Ὕσσωλδος, l. 153.

Turning from our inscription to that relating to Lygdamis, we find the remains of a name, l. 7, Σα.....λλ[ο, which may now be restored Σα[ρυσσώ]λλ[ο. The names Θεκυιλώνης, Κάσβωλλις, Ἀφύασις, Παννύατις, Λύγδαμις, in the same inscription are evidently Karian. A few more Karian names may be detected in Herodotos and other Greek authors, and in inscriptions, principally in those from Karia and Lykia. Thus we have Θύσσωλος in a Mylasa inscription, Lebas, No. 377, Ἀρίδωλις, Herodot. vii. 195, Ἰβάνωλις, ibid. v. 37. Compare Πισίνδηλις, who, according to Suidas, was the father of Lygdamis, Ἄρσηλις of Mylasa, Plutarch, Quæst. Græc. 45. The following instances of the termination σσις or σις may be noted, Ἀραΐσσις, C. I. 2691 *c*, Addend. 4700 *l*. Ἀλκίδισσις in a Mylasa inscription, Lebas, No. 338. Κάσησις, Lebas, No. 330. With these may be compared the following in Lykian inscriptions,—Arsasis, Böckh, C. I. 4290; Hermandeimasis, ibid. Addend. 4208 *c*, 4228 *b*; Mollisis, ibid. 4224 *f*; Tribelysis, ibid. 4269 *d*; Syennesis, the king of Kilikia, mentioned by Herodotos, i. 74. We learn from this inscription that those MSS. which read Ὑσσέλδωμος instead of Σέλδωμος, Herod. vii. 98, ed. Gaisford, were right, and that the received reading is wrong.

The following names may be also classed as Karian,—Thyssos and Syskos, Lebas, No. 379; Perbilas, ibid. No. 324; Korris, ibid. No. 394; Hythesmas, ibid. No. 329, all in inscriptions in Karia. Kyardes, according

to Stephan. Byz. s. v. Κύαρδα, was a king of Karia. In Lykia the well-known names, Mausolos and Pixodaros, occur in inscriptions, and we also have the following, which may be Karian: Hermoundis, C. I. Add. 4269 *d*; Hermendadis, ibid. 4315 *f*; Serisalos, ibid. 4300 *v*; Ossybas, ibid. 4269 *d*; Sesamas, ibid. 4212, p. 1116; Hermakotas, ibid. 4300 *m*, 4240 *e*; Pybiales, ibid. 4306; Pormatis, ibid. 4314; Pyrimatis, ibid. 4224 *f*; Polemola? Lebas, No. 1237. The name Hermapis, which occurs in our inscription, l. 39, and in Lebas, No. 330, may be Egyptian, and this and the name Aigyptios, l. 7, may have been imported into Karia through the mercenaries who served in Egypt. Piromis, ibid. ll. 18 and 32, may also be the Egyptian name given by Herodotos (ii. 143), quoting Hekatæos. The names Imbareldos and Imbarsis or Imbrasis in our inscription may be connected with Imbramos, the Karian name for Hermes according to Stephan. Byzant. s. v. Ἴμβρος. Imbrasos, according to the same author, s. v., was a name for Samos. This may have been the old Karian name of the island.

In the same Mylasa inscription, Lebas, 377, in which Θύσσωλος occurs, we have Θύσσος, and possibly the termination -σσωλ may have been a Karian patronymic afterwards disguised by the addition of the Greek suffix ος. Thus Thyssolos would be "son of Thyssos," and the other Karian proper names ending in -σσωλλος may have been originally patronymics, but at present this is mere conjecture.

The names of places in our inscription are as follows: Αυρισσός, ll. 8, 29, 56; Θυασσός or Οὐασσός, l. 20; Σάρανσος, l. 39; Ὠνζωσσύασος, l. 26; Ὠσπράοννος or ον, l. 43; Κεύαρος or ον, l. 18; Ἄργος, l. 47;

Κασαῖος or ον, l. 34; Τέρμεροι, l. 217; Κότοι, ll. 16, 27, 70, 81; Πουνομοῦοι, l. 21; Κυοπρισσίς or Κυρπρισσίς, l. 9; Δίδη, l. 38; Ὀρκυνεῖον, l. 44, is probably a tunny fishery; Ἑκαταίη, l. 215, may be territory originally sacred to Hekatè. The Ἀπολ[λώνιον], l. 64, is the temple of Apollo mentioned in the last line of the Lygdamis inscription. Σρανσῳ, l. 58, is probably a blunder of the lapidary for Σαράνσῳ.

The two first of the above names have terminations which are very common in Karia and Lykia, as Ἁλικαρνασσός, Τυμνησσός, Ἀκαλησσός, Ἐδεβησσός, and are to be met with in other parts of Greece and Asia Minor, as Τελμισσός in Lykia, Σαγαλασσός in Pisidia, Σαρδησσός in Kilikia; Παρνασσός may be referred to the same source. The names Ὠσπράοννος, Ὠνζωσσύασος, Πουνομοῦοι have a very barbarous sound, and may be compared with the names of tribes and demes at Olymos, such as Σοαωνεῖς, Lebas, No. 324; Κοδούωκα, Κορμοσκωνεύς, ibid. No. 338; Παρεμβωρδεύς, ibid. Nos. 336, 338; Ὑλλούαλα, Steph. Byzant. s. v.

Our knowledge of the Karian language is so scanty that the new names of persons and places which I have here collected will probably be not without interest to philologists. If we except the very doubtful glosses of Stephanus Byzantius under Μονόγισσα and Ἀλάβανδα, our knowledge of Karian words is limited to the following. Ζεὺς Ὀσογώς or Ὀσογῶα, is certainly the equivalent of Ζηνοποσειδών (see my Hist. Disc. ii. p. 32, and Lebas, Nos. 360, 361); Σουάγελα, according to Stephanus Byzantius, is composed of Σοῦα, a tomb, and Γέλα, king. Τουσσύλοι, according to the same authority means "dwarfs;" and Τάβα, a "rock;" κύβδα, according to

Machon, as cited by Athenæos, xiii. p. 580 *d*, means a weight. The few extant specimens of supposed Karian writing have been published by Mr. Sayce, Transact. Roy. Soc. Lit. x. pp. 546—64.

Then remains the question, has our inscription any connection with that relating to Lygdamis, and to what date can it be assigned? At first sight I was disposed to think that there was some historical connection between these two documents. The Lygdamis inscription is a law regulating the transfer of certain lands of which the ownership had evidently been in dispute, and enacts that any one who attempts to repeal the law will be punished with confiscation of his goods. The inscription now published registers the sale of many lands and houses, which had been forfeited to certain Deities. In the long list of names which this register contains, the following are also to be found in the Lygdamis inscription, Apollonides, Panamyes, Megabates, Phormion, Panyassis. These coincidences, however, and the general affinity of subject, are not sufficient grounds to justify us in assuming an historical connection between these two documents. Then, again, it cannot be proved by palæographical evidence that they are contemporary. So far as I can judge, the inscription now published is rather the later of the two. The form of the N and the general character of the writing are more regular, and we have no trace of the curious T which occurs in the Lygdamis inscription in the name 'Οθατάτιος, l. 6, and which we find also on the silver coins of Mesembria. Neither can it be assumed that the confiscation of so large an amount of real property as is recorded in this inscription was necessarily due to political causes, though it seems pro-

bable that such was the case, and that so large a transfer of land was the result of state prosecutions carried out in some period of revolution. As to this, however, the inscription is silent. The "debtors to the Gods," οἱ ὀφείλοντες τοῖς Θεοῖς, may have been persons guilty of ἀσέβεια, or, again, they may have been simple debtors, who had mortgaged their lands to the temples named in the heading.

After this Appendix had been printed, I received a memoir by M. Haussoullier on the same inscription, published in the Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, iv. pp. 295—320. This has reached me too late to profit by in the present volume.

NOTES.

[1] P. 75. Brunn, Geschichte d. Griech. Künstler, I. pp. 30–38. Overbeck, Geschichte d. Griech. Plastik. I. p. 69.

[2] P. 77. Kirchhoff, Studien z. Geschichte d. Gr. Alphabets, 3rd ed. p. 27.

[3] P. 78. Millingen, Anc. Uned. Monuments, Pt. II. Pl. 1.

[4] P. 79. See the Photographs in "Antiquities of Cyprus, photographed by Stephen Thompson," London, 1873, and Doell, Sammlung Cesnola, St. Pétersbourg, 1873.

[5] P. 80. Overbeck, I. p. 152.

[6] P. 81. Monumenti del Inst. Arch. Rom. IX. Pl. 41.

[7] P. 83. History of Discoveries, II. Pt. 2. p. 493.

[8] P. 84. Pliny, N.H. XXXVII. 5. § 17.

[9] P. 86. Transactions of Royal Soc. Lit. XI. pp. 80–92.

[10] P. 87. Caylus, Recueil d'Antiquités, vi. Pl. 46.

[11] P. 88. Stark, Niobe u. die Niobiden, Leipzig, 1863.

[12] P. 90. Fröhner, Notice de la Sculpture antique du Louvre, I. No. 476. This statue was found in the ruins of a large Doric temple near Palæopolis, the ancient Samothrace. The blocks of marble forming its base have been recently removed to Paris. They represent the prow of a ship on which the Victory stood, as on the coins of Demetrios Poliorketes.

[13] P. 100. For the Moabite stone, see Ganneau, Stèle de Mesa, Paris, 1870. Ginsburg, The Moabite stone, 1872.

[14] P. 101. Kirchhoff, Studien, 3rd ed. p. 34.

[15] P. 102. Ibid. pp. 19, 81.

[16] P. 102. Röhl, Schedæ Epigraphicæ, Berlin, 1876, p. 1.

[17] P. 102. Archäol. Zeitung, 1873, p. 108.

[18] P. 104. Franz, Archäol. Zeit. 1846, p. 379, and p. 318. Kirchhoff, Studien, 3rd ed. p. 92. Cauer, Delectus, p. 32.

[19] P. 104. Böckh, Corpus Inscript. I. No. 11. Kirchhoff, Studien, 3rd ed. p. 152.

[20] P. 105. Böckh, C. I. No. 4, p. 145. Franz, Elementa Epigr. Græcæ, p. 63, No. 24.

[21] P. 106. Kirchhoff, Studien, 3rd ed. p. 144.

[22] P. 107. See my History of Discoveries, etc. II. Pt. 2. p. 671, Kirchhoff, Studien, 3rd ed. p. 4.

[23] P. 107. Cauer, Delectus, p. 114. No. 94.

[24] P. 109. Köhler, Urkunden z. Geschichte des Delisch-Attischen Bundes, Berlin, 1870, p. 153. Kirchhoff, Corpus Inscript. Attic. Berlin, 1873, p. 17. No. 37.

[25] P. 110. Böckh, C. I. 147, and Staatshaushaltung, II. p. 12. Newton and Hicks, Greek inscriptions in Brit. Mus. Pt. I. p. 50. Kirchhoff, Corpus Inscript. Att. I. p. 82.

[26] P. 110. Böckh, Staatshaushaltung, III. p. 463.

[27] P. 112. Rangabè, Ant. Hellén. I. p. 83. Kirchhoff, Corpus Inscript. Att. I. p. 169. No. 324.

[28] P. 113. Corpus Inscript. Att. II. Pt. 1, No. 167. Rangabè, Ant. Hellén. II. p. 381.

[29] P. 114. Kirchhoff, Corpus Inscript. Att. I. pp. 48–78. Böckh, Staatshaush. II. pp. 1–67. Newton and Hicks, Greek Inscriptions in Brit. Mus. I. pp. 46–77.

[30] P. 114. Böckh, C. I. 163. Newton and Hicks, Inscriptions in Brit. Mus. I. p. 98. Philologus, XII. p. 568. Archäol. Zeitung, Berlin, 1854, Anzeiger, p. 464.

[31] P. 115. Köhler in Mittheilungen d. Deutsch. Institutes in Athen. I. p. 184. On other recently-discovered treaties, see Köhler, in Mittheil. d. D. Inst. II. p. 138, p. 197. Lolling, *ibid.* III. p. 19. Corpus Inscript. Attic. II. Pt. 1, Nos. 51, 52, 332, 549, Addenda, Nos. 17^b, 49^b, 57^b, 66^b.

[32] P. 116. Schäfer, De Sociis Atheniensium, Lips. 1856. Corpus Inscript. Attic. II. Pt. 1. p. 8. No. 17.

[33] P. 116. Rangabè, Ant. Hellén. II. p. 58. Köhler, in Corpus Inscript. Att. II. Pt. 1. p. 52, assigns B.C. 343 as the probable date of this inscription. It would thus be thirty-five years later than the decree in the archonship of Nausinikos, not contemporary with it, as I state in the text.

[34] P. 117. Corpus Inscr. Att. II. Pt. 1, No. 546. Rangabè, Ant. Hellén. II. p. 246. No. 677.

[35] P. 118. Lebas-Waddington, Inscriptions de l'Asie Mineure, III. p. 361. No. 1536*a*.

[36] P. 119. Diodoros, XVIII. 8. 56.

[37] P. 119. Lebas-Waddington, Inscriptions de l'Asie Mineure, III. p. 43. No. 86.

[38] P. 120. Böckh, C. I. No. 2671.

[39] P. 120. Lebas-Waddington, Inscriptions, etc. III. pp. 73–79.

[40] P. 121. Archäol. Zeitung, Berlin, 1876, pp. 128–38.

[41] P. 123. Tissot, Des Proxenies Grècques, Dijon, 1863.

[42] P. 125. Böckh, C. I. 2058. Grote, History of Greece, XII. p. 644.

[43] P. 125. Böckh, C. I. Addenda, 4315*n*.

[44] P. 126. Lebas-Waddington, Inscriptions de l'Asie Mineure, III. p. 378. No. 1618.

[45] P. 127. Böckh, C. I. 3902*b*, 3957, 3176, 2743, 2167*d*. History of Discoveries, II. Pt. 2, p. 696.

[46] P. 129. Foucart, Senatûs Consultum inédit. 1872, in Archives des Missions, VII. 2nd Série. Schmidt in Mittheil. d. D. Inst. iv. p. 235.

[47] P. 129. Lebas-Waddington, Inscriptions de l'Asie Mineure, III. p. 29. No. 60. Böckh, C. I. 3045.

[48] P. 129. Böckh, C. I. 2737.

[49] P. 130. Waddington, Chronologie de la vie du rhéteur Aristide, p. 51.

[50] P. 130. Ross, Inscript. Inéd. III. Nos. 312, 313.

[51] P. 130. Plehn, Lesbiaca, pp. 211 and 217, 218. Böckh, C. I. 2182. Archäol. Zeitung, Berlin, 1854, p. 515.

[52] P. 132. Franz, Cæsaris Augusti index rerum, etc., comment. instr. A. W. Zumpt, Berlin, 1845. Mommsen, Th., Res gestæ divi Augusti, Berol. 1865.

[53] P. 132. Böckh, C. I. 5127.

[54] P. 135. Waddington, Edit. de Dioclétien, Paris, 1864.

[55] P. 137. E. Curtius, Ueber den religiösen Character d. Griech. Münzen in the Monatsberichten of Berlin Academy, June, 1869. Numismatic Chronicle, 1870, p. 91. Lenormant, La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité, II. p. 82.

[56] P. 138. Böckh, C. I. 158.

[57] P. 138. Böckh, C. I. 1570 and 3607.

[58] P. 141. Corpus. Inscr. Att. II. Pt. 1. Nos. 403, 404. Martha in Bullet. de Correspondance Hellénique, II. p. 419.

[59] P. 142. Böckh, C. I. 2852.

[60] P. 143. Wood, Ephesus, Inscriptions from Theatre, No. 1.

[61] P. 143. Lebas-Waddington, Inscriptions de l'Asie Mineure, III. p. 56. No. 136*a*.

[62] P. 144. Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Paris, II. pp. 1–15, 321–44, 570–84.

[63] P. 144. Corpus Inscript. Attic. I. p. 143. No. 273.

[64] P. 144. Cesnola, Cyprus, p. 301.

[65] P. 145. Böckh, C. I. 4474.

[66] P. 145. Lebas-Waddington, Inscriptions de l'Asie Mineure, III. No. 416.

[67] P. 146. Ibid. III. No. 331.

[68] P. 146. Ibid. III. No. 332.

[69] P. 149. Böckh, C. I. 5774.

[70] P. 149. Rangabè, Antiq. Hellén. II. p. 174. No. 476.

[71] P. 150. Ἀθήναιον, IV. p. 369.

[72] P. 151. Corpus Inscript. Attic., Berlin, II. Pt. 1. p. 419, No. 489*b*.

[73] P. 152. Böckh, C. I. 2656.

[74] P. 152. Μουσεῖον τῆς Εὐαγγ. Σχολῆς, Smyrna, 1875, Pt. 1, No. 108.

[75] P. 155. Ἀθήναιον, II. p. 237.

[76] P. 156. Lebas-Foucart. Inscriptions de la Grèce. Ptie. II. § 5, p. 171.

[77] P. 156. Corpus Inscript. Attic. III. Pt. 1, Nos. 73, 74. Foucart, Associations Religieuses chez les Grecs, p. 219, No. 38.

[78] P. 156. Newton in Transactions of Royal Soc. Lit. xi. p. 443.

[79] P. 157. Ephemeris Archaiol. No. 3139.

[80] P. 157. Newton, Hist. Disc. II. Pt. 1. p. 273, for the position of this island at Halikarnassos.

[81] P. 161. See *ante*, p. 151, note 72.

[82] P. 161. Böckh, C. I. 2820.

[83] P. 162. Lebas-Foucart, Inscriptions de la Grèce. Ptie. II. § 6, p. 215. No. 352*i*.

[84] P. 162. Böckh, C. I. 3599.

[85] P. 163. Ibid. 2953.

[86] P. 163. Carapanos, Dodone, Paris, 1878. Bouché-Leclercq, Histoire de la Divination, Paris, 1880, II. treats very fully of oracles and soothsayers.

[87] P. 164. Böckh, C. I. 434. Lenormant, Recherches à Eleusis, p. 177.

[88] P. 166. See the article *Apeleutheroi* by Foucart in Daremberg et Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.

[89] P. 168. Ibid.

[90] P. 170. Böckh, C. I. 2448.

[91] P. 172. Corpus Inscr. Attic., Berlin, II. Pt. 1. No. 168. Foucart, Associations Relig. chez les Grecs, p. 128.

[92] P. 172. Böckh, C. I. 2271. Foucart, Associations Relig. p. 130.

[93] P. 172. Corpus Inscr. Attic., Berlin, III. Pt. 1, Nos. 73, 74. Foucart, Assoc. Rel. pp. 119–27.

[94] P. 174. Corpus Inscr. Att., Berlin, II. Pt. 1, No. 163. Rangabè, Ant. Hell. II. p. 439. No. 814.

[95] P. 174. Böckh, C. I. 158.

[96] P. 174. Böckh, C. I. 1688, p. 810. Staatshaush. I. p. 105. Rangabè, Ant. Hell. II. p. 443. Corpus Inscr. Att. II. Pt. 1, No. 545.

[97] P. 175. Böckh, C. I. 511.

[98] P. 175. Lebas, Inscriptions des Iles de la Grèce, IV. § 2. No. 1796.

[99] P. 175. Böckh, C. I. 2715.

[100] P. 178. Pausan. VIII. 15. 2. Apul. Metam. XI. 16.

[101] P. 183. Sauppe, Die Mysterien-inschrift von Andania. Lebas-Foucart, Inscriptions de la Grèce, II. § 5. p. 161. No. 326*a*.

[102] P. 184. Lebas-Foucart, Inscriptions de la Grèce, II. § 6. No. 352*h*.

[103] P. 190. Böckh, C. I. 4694, where it is stated erroneously that this gold plate is in the British Museum.

[104] P. 192. Ἀθήναιον. vi. p. 149. Corpus. Inscript. Attic. IV. p. 41, No. 373*a*.

[105] P. 192. Curtius in Archäol. Zeitung, Berlin, 1876, p. 181.

[106] P. 194. Böckh, C. I. 5773. For the Knidos Diræ, see Newton, Hist. Disc. II. Pt. 2. pp. 720 sqq.

[107] P. 195. Böckh, C. I. No. 3442.

[108] P. 195. Herod. IX. 93. Plutarch, Lucull. x. Diodor. IV. 18 and 80, XIV. 116, XVI. 27. Pausan. II. 35. Kreuser, Hellenen Priesterstaat, p. 201.

[109] P. 195. Μουσεῖον τῆς Εὐαγγ. Σχολῆς, Smyrna, 1875, I. p. 102. No. 104. Diodoros, v. 3, mentions sacred fish in the fountain Arethusa, at Syracuse, see Ælian, De nat. Anim. XII. 30.

[110] P. 196. Köhler in Mittheilungen d. Deutsch. Arch. Institutes in Athen, I. p. 139 and p. 255 ibid.

[111] P. 197. Böckh, C. I. 3562.

[112] P. 197. Kirchhoff, Studien, 3rd ed. p. 50.

[113] P. 199. In Keil, Analecta Epigraph. Lips. 1842, pp. 1–39, a fragment of an inscription (C. I. 1536) is interpreted as belonging to the tomb of Philopœmen. The epitaph of Timoleon is given by Plutarch, vit. Timoleon, c. 39.

[114] P. 200. Böckh, C. I. 175.

[115] P. 201. Ibid. No. 916.

[116] P. 201. Ibid. No. 2824.

[117] P. 201. Ibid. No. 2826.

[118] P. 202. Ibid. No. 3270.

[119] P. 203. Ibid. No. 989, No. 6280.

[120] P. 205. Ibid. 5172.

[121] P. 205. Ibid. 5759*e*.

[122] P. 206. Ibid. 6298 and 6745. Kaibel, Epigrammata Græca, Berlin, 1878, No. 1117.

[123] P. 206. Böckh, C. I. 1907*bb*, II. p. 986.

[124] P. 208. Ibid. 6342*b*. 6196. 6559.

[125] P. 208. Böckh, C. I. 6311.

[126] P. 208. Ibid. 6310.

[127] P. 208. Ibid. 5772.

[128] P. 211. Pausan. vii. 2. 6. Guhl, Ephesiaca, p. 5 and p. 131.

[129] P. 213. See these un-Hellenic types in Gerhard, Antike Bildwerke, Pll. 305, 307, 308.

[130] P. 214. E. Curtius, Beiträge z. Geschichte Kleinasiens. 1872, p. 7.

[131] P. 214. Ibid. pp. 13–15.

[132] P. 216. Ibid. p. 16. Guhl, Ephesiaca, p. 36; for other examples of dedications by attachment of a cord, see Tylor, Primitive Culture, i. p. 106.

[133] P. 218. Brunn, Geschichte d. Griech. Künstler, ii. pp. 345, 383. Pliny, xxxvi. c. 14. § 21, attributes to Chersiphron rather than to Metagenes the contrivance by which the architrave stones were lowered on to their beds. But it seems more probable that Metagenes, to whom Vitruvius, x. 6, attributes the invention for conveying the architrave stones from the quarry, should have also had the lowering of them into their place.

[134] P. 218. Corpus Inscr. Att. i. pp. 111, 112.

[135] P. 220. Lebas-Waddington, Inscriptions de l'Asie Mineure, p. 73, No. 187.

[136] P. 220. Plin. Hist. Nat. xvi. 79.

[137] P. 222. Strabo, xiv. p. 641. Wood, Ephesus, p. 10.

[138] P. 222. Lebas-Waddington, Inscriptions de l'Asie Mineure, p. 56. No. 136*a*.

[139] P. 224. Ulpian, Lib. i. Digg. Tit. xvi. 1. 4, § 5, De Offic. Proconsul. Plin. Hist. Nat. v. 31.

[140] P. 225. Dio Chrysostom. Orat. xxxi. p. 595. ed. Reiske.

[141] P. 225. Xenoph. Anab. v. 3. 9.

[142] P. 226. Wood, Ephesus, Appendix, Inscriptions from Great Theatre, pp. 2–43.

[143] P. 228. Waddington, Fastes des Provinces Asiatiques, p. 94, No. 58.

[144] P. 230. Strabo, xii. pp. 535, 557, 559, 560.

[145] P. 230. Plutarch, An. seni. 24. Guhl, Ephesiaca, p. 109.

[146] P. 230. Achilles Tat. vii. 13. Artemidor. Oneirocritica, iv. 4. Guhl, p. 111.

[147] P. 231. Achilles Tat. loc. cit.

[148] P. 232. Strabo, xiv. p. 641.

[149] P. 234. Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxvi. 14. § 21. Universo templo longitudo est ccccxxv pedum, latitudo ccxxv.

[150] P. 235. Plin. Ibid. Columnæ centum viginti septema singulis

regibus factæ, lx pedum altitudine, ex iis xxxvi cælatæ, una a Scopa.

[151] P. 235. First published by H. Röhl, Schedæ Epigraphicæ, Berlin, 1876, p. 1.

[152] P. 236. Strabo, xiv. p. 640. At Iakly (Euromos) in Karia still remain standing the columns of a temple of the Roman period, on each of which the name of the dedicator is inscribed on the shaft. See Ionian Antiquities, Pt. i. p. 57.

[153] P. 237. Fergusson on the Temples of Ephesus and Didymi (read at the Institute of British Architects, Jan. 22, 1877), p. 85.

[154] P. 238. See Wood, p. 258, where he states that the great altar was nearly 20 feet square.

[155] P. 239. Röhl, Schedæ Epig. p. 1.

[156] P. 243. Corpus Inscript. Attic. Berlin i. No. 324.

[157] P. 247. Newton, Travels and Discoveries, ii. p. 29. Frick in Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie, Leipzig, 1859, iii. Supp. Bd. Heft 4, p. 554. Kirchhoff, Studien, 3rd ed. Taf. ii.

[158] P. 251. Dodwell, Views of Cyclopean remains in Greece and Italy. K. O. Müller, Archäologie d. a. Kunst. p. 29, § 48.

[159] P. 253. In the ruins of the vast chamber at Orchomenos, which Pausanias calls the Treasury of Minyas, Dr. Schliemann found blocks similarly pierced, and here and there remains of the bronze nails (see his Mycenæ, p. 45).

[160] P. 254. Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Paris, ii. p. 181.

[161] P. 255. Blouet, Expédition scientifique de la Morée, ii. p. 154, Pl. 70.

[162] P. 272. For other instances of sepulchral masks, see Benndorf Antike Gesichthelme, Wien, 1878.

[163] P. 274. Dr. Schliemann calls this a cow's head, but I am assured by naturalists that he has mistaken the sex.

[164] P. 281. F. Lenormant, Premières Civilisations, ii. p. 376. It is a curious illustration of this primitive anatomical diagram that the Greeks called this part of the female body Delta, from its supposed likeness to the fourth letter of their alphabet.

[165] P. 283. Cesnola, Cyprus, pp. 51, 93, 150, 164, 203, Pl. vi.

[166] P. 284. For the patterns on the Mycenæ pottery, see the beautiful work, Mykenische Thongefässe, by A. T. Furtwängler and G. Löschcke, published by the German Archæological Institute at Athens, 1879. For the Ialysos pottery, see Salzmann, Necropole de Camire, Paris, 1871.

[167] P. 284. Lenormant, Revue Archéologique, xiv. p. 430, and Academy, 1874, p. 315.

[168] P. 286. Milchhöfer in Mittheil. d. Deutsch. Institutes in Athen, II. pp. 82–84. Bullet. de Corresp. Hellén. I. pp. 260–263, and II. pp. 185–228.

[169] P. 287. Longpérier, Musée Napoléon III. Pll. XXIV. and XXVI.

[170] P. 287. Helbig, Cenni sopra l'arte Fenicia, in the Annali of the Roman Institute, 1876, pp. 197–257.

[171] P. 287. Longpérier, Musée Napoléon III. Pll. X. XI.

[172] P. 288. Layard, Discoveries in Nineveh, p. 182; and Monuments of Nineveh, 2nd series, Pll. 57–68.

[173] P. 289. Helbig, Cenni; Longpérier, Journal Asiatique, 1855, p. 407.

[174] P. 290. Newton, Guide to 2nd Vase Room in Brit. Mus. 1878, Pt. 1. p. 70, No. 5.

[175] P. 290. Micali, Monum. Ined. Firenzi, 1844, Pl. VII. Newton, Guide to Bronze Room in Brit. Mus. 1871, p. 8, No. 5.

[176] P. 290. 1 Kings vii. 14.

[177] P. 291. Massimi, Mus. Gregor, I. Pll. 18, 19, 20. Millingen, Anc. Uned. Mon. II. Pl. 14. Newton, Guide to Bronze Room in Brit. Mus. 1871, p. 34.

[178] P. 293. Hoskins, Travels in Ethiopia. Pll. XLVI. XLIX.

[179] P. 298. Pausan. II. 16. 6. III. 19. 6. In the latter passage the integrity of the text has been doubted by recent editors, but as it appears to me on no sufficient ground.

[180] P. 299. Bulletin de Correspondance Hellén. II. p. 64.

[181] P. 300. Newton, Hist. Disc. II. pp. 202, 487, 488, 581–88.

[182] P. 301. K. F. Hermann, Privatalterthümer, 1870, § 18. 11. Pyl, Die Griech. Rundbauten, p. 88.

[183] P. 303. De Luynes, Numismatique et Inscriptions Cypriotes, Paris, 1852; and Ross, Reisen, IV. pp. 81–212. Ceccaldi, Découvertes en Chypre, in Revue Archéologique, N. S. XXII. p. 361; N. S. XXIV. p. 221. Lang in Transactions of Royal Soc. Literature, 2nd series, XI. pp. 30–54. R. S. Poole, ibid. 54–70.

[184] P. 304. Longpérier, Musée Napoléon III. Pl. XVI.

[185] P. 306. Revue Archéologique N. S. V. p. 347, VI. p. 244.

[186] P. 307. Doell, Sammlung Cesnola, St. Pétersbourg, 1873.

[187] P. 308. Doell, Ibid., Pl. III. figg. 9, 1–6.

[188] P. 312. Sayce on Babylonian cylinders found by Gen. Cesnola, Transactions of Soc. Biblical Archæology, V. p. 441.

[189] P. 313. Ibid. p. 442–44.

[190] P. 317. Newton, Hist. Disc. II. p. 327.

[191] P. 317. Annali of Roman Arch. Institute, 1835, p. 50. Bullet. of same Institute, 1829, p. 189.

[192] P. 333. Blouet, Expédition scientifique de la Morée I. pp. 56–72.

[193] P. 333. Olympia, Ein Vertrag von E. Curtius, Berlin, 1852.

[194] P. 334. Macmillan's Magazine, November, 1877, p. 59.

[194*] P. 339. Professor Adler calculates from the measurement of the temple that an Olympic foot, averaging from 0·3206 to 0·3210 mètre, is the unit on which the proportions are based. Ausgrabungen, III. p. 26.

[195] P. 340. Ausgrabungen, II. Pl. 35, pp. 14–16.

[196] P. 342. Blouet, Expédition scientifique, I. Pl. 63, 64.

[197] P. 349. Archäol. Zeitung. Berlin, 1879, pp. 119, 120. This building is thought to be the Senate House, *Bouleuterion*, of the Eleians.

[198] P. 350. Pausan. v. 17, 3. G. Treu, Hermes mit dem Dionysosknaben, Berlin, 1878. One of the feet of this statue has been recently discovered. It is described as exquisitely modelled, with a sandal of bronze gilt.

[199] P. 351. Diodor. Fragm. XXVI. *Πραξιτέλης, ὁ καταμίξας ἄκρως τοῖς λιθίνοις ἔργοις τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς πάθη.*

[200] P. 351. Benndorf, in Beiblatt z. Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst. 1878, No. 49, pp. 778–785.

[201] P. 353. Ausgrab. I. Pll. 10, 11, 12. The back of the head and the left leg have been recently discovered.

[202] P. 354. Pausan. v. § 10, 2. For the remains of the two pedimental compositions, see Ausgrabungen, I. Pll. 13–25, II. Pll. 4–25, III. Pll. 10–16.

[203] P. 363. Rangabè, Ant. Hellén. I. p. 45, No. 56.

[204] P. 365. Brunn, Pæonios u. die Nordgriech. Kunst, Munich, 1876; and Die Sculpturen von Olympia, in Sitzungsberichte d. Phil. Hist. Classe d. k. b. Akad. d. Wissenschaften z. München, 1877, pp. 1–28, and 1878, pp. 442–471.

[205] P. 365. Blouet, Expédition Scientifique, I. Pll. 74–78.

[206] P. 366. Ausgrab. III. Pll. 18, 19. Treu in Archäol. Zeitung, 1878, p. 136.

[207] P. 367. Furtwängler in Archäol. Zeitung. 1878, pp. 172, 173.

[208] P. 367. Pausan. v. 20. § 4. Sueton. Nero. XXIV.

[209] P. 369. In an unedited inscription from the island of Kalymna which is now in the British Museum, the amount of time to be allowed for pleadings in a trial is measured by the same instrument.

[210] P. 370. Tacit. Annal. IV. 43.

[211] P. 370. L. Ross, Reisen u. Reiserouten, I. pp. 1–24. Curtius, Peloponnesos, II. pp. 157, 193.

[212] P. 371. See *ante*, p. 120, note 39.

[213] P. 374. De Witte in Annali of Inst. Arch. Roman. XLIX. pp. 294–332, L. pp. 276–284. Monum. x. Pll. 47, 48.

[214] P. 374. See Mr. Head's Guide to select Greek coins exhibited in electrotype in Brit. Mus. 1880.

[215] P. 377. Grote, Hist. Greece, XII. pp. 649–661.

[216] P. 377. Gilles, Antiquités du Bospore, I. pp. XV.–XXXV.

[217] P. 379. Ibid. II. Pl. LXXIX. p. 131.

[218] P. 380. Gilles, Antiq. du Bospore, I. pp. XXXI.–XXXV.

[219] P. 381. Compte Rendu, 1859, pp. 1–125. Pll. I.–III. See *ante*, p. 373. This vase is published in Falkener's Fine Art Quarterly, 1864.

[220] P. 382. Compte Rendu, 1864, Pl. v. fig. 2.

[221] P. 384. Newton and Hicks, Greek Inscriptions in Brit. Mus. Pt. 1. XXXIV. p. 77.

[222] P. 384. A coin of Alexander the Great was found with a collection of gold ornaments similar in style and date to those from Kertch which have been recently discovered at some place on the west coast of Asia Minor, probably Kymè in Æolis. These are now in the British Museum.

[223] P. 391. For the Sphinx in the British Museum, see Newton, Castellani Collection, 1874, Pl. XII.

[224] P. 391. Ueber bemalte Vasen mit Goldschmuck, Leipzig, 1863.

[225] P. 391. See *ante*, Note 213.

[226] P. 401. Published by Engelmann, Archäol. Zeitung, Berlin, 1878, p. 150, Pl. 20, who attributes this head to Praxiteles. See also Newton, Castellani Collection, 1874, Pl. 1 (a Photograph by Mr. S. Thompson).

[227] P. 414. Head, On the chronological sequence of the coins of Syracuse, London, 1874.

[228] P. 417. Numismatic Chronicle, 1876, p. 1.

[229] P. 419. Transactions of Royal Soc. Lit. N. S. XI. p. 173.

[230] P. 426. Grote, Hist. Greece, 1st ed. III. p. 495.

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